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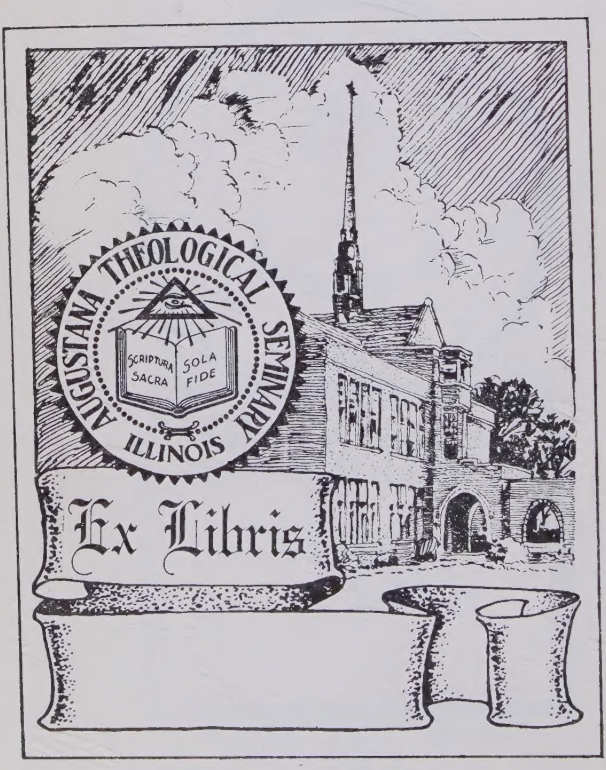
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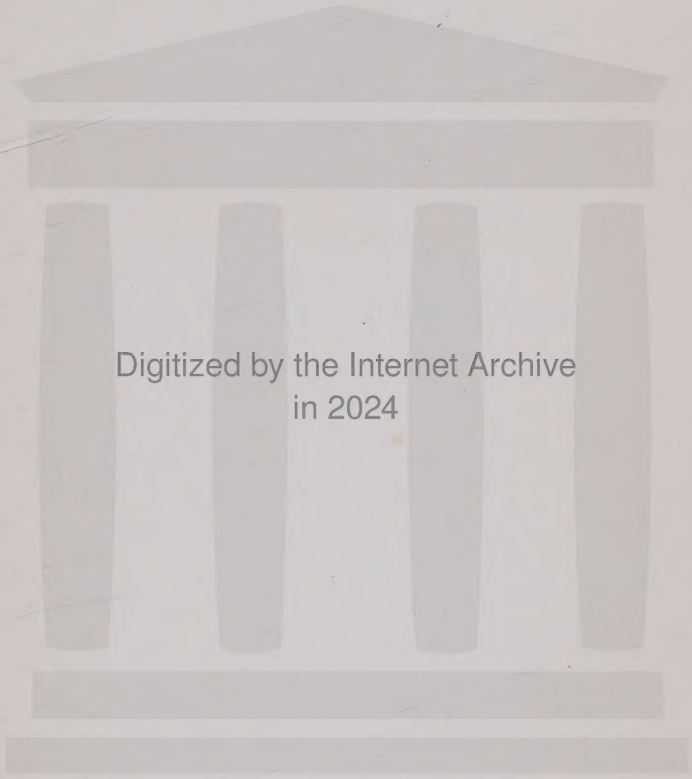

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THE LIVING FORCES OF THE GOSPEL

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EXPERIENCES OF A MISSIONARY IN ANIMISTIC HEATHENDOM

BY

JOH. WARNECK, LIC. THEOL.

SUPERINTENDENT OF MISSIONS

AUTHORISED TRANSLATION FROM THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION

BY

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Edinburgh and London

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PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

THIS book is a psychological study based upon the author's experience as a missionary among the animistic heathen of the Indian Archipelago. There has been much unanimity among German missionaries as to his conclusions, and the author would take advantage of this translation of his work to appeal to all English speaking missionaries, and those interested in the work and literature of missions, for their criticism and observations. He found that the conversion of heathen in Netherland India was effected by stages; it would be extremely valuable to him to know whether the experience of missionaries in Africa, in Oceania, in Central America, in India and China are similar to his own. He would like especially to learn the minds of missionaries on the following questions: Whether the first thing in the Gospel that attracts is deliverance from the fear of demons; whether the sense of sin and the longing for forgiveness is a later growth; whether Christ is accepted first of all as a Deliverer from the devil, then from the state of fear in which their lives are spent, and last of all as the Saviour from sin? Are the features of Animism as he has described them in the first part of his book essentially the same among other peoples? Similar notions of the soul are found in China, Africa, Suriname, even in Greenland, and many other places. It would seem as if Animism were the primitive form of heathenism, maintaining itself, as in China and India to this hour, amid all the refinements of civilisation. The study of Greek and old German Religions exhibit the same animistic features. The essence of heathenism seems to be, not the denial of God but complete estrangement from Him. The existence of God is everywhere known and a certain veneration given Him. But

He is far away, and is therefore all but ruled out of the religious life. His place is taken by demons, who are feared and worshipped. The author would esteem it a favour were any missionaries to communicate with him (Missionshaus, Barmen, Germany) their experiences and thoughts on any of these matters.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION

THE favourable reception given to his psychological study of missions strengthens the author's conviction that foreign missions have something to say to the home Church and to theology, which is ever called upon to consider the movements of the times. The essays which appeared in Kählers "Angewandten Dogmen," almost contemporaneously with this book, called upon missionaries to prepare their experiences amid their conflict with heathenism for the use of theologians. The "Living Forces of the Gospel" was quite unconsciously a modest answer to that invitation. It is very gratifying to missionaries to find that theological speculations about missions agree so strikingly with their practical experience. I have observed with increasing surprise and delight how a believing study of the Bible supports the theory and practice of missions, and how the experience of missionaries confirms convictions which such students have already reached. That is a suggestive fact of which I have not been able in this treatise to make any use, but which I may turn to account in a later work.

As my enquiry was breaking fresh ground I was ready to welcome any new facts or criticisms from the experience of my colleagues. However, they have been in essential agreement with me. In this edition I have attended to some minor objections and have changed phrases that were misunderstood. Too little time has elapsed since the appearance of the book to allow colleagues of the mission field to pass any detailed judgment upon it. It is to them mainly that I look for help in dealing with the questions which I have raised.

From another quarter, however, I have been counselled to

give a more thorough and dispassionate study to problems in the history of religion, especially in view of the results in the science of comparative religions, *i.e.* to recognise that the idea of evolution at present ruling the scientific world must also rule in the investigation of religion. I am not so unacquainted with the literature of the subject as my critics suppose. But as I have come to different results it could not lie in the plan of my work to show any agreement with the religious and philosophical presuppositions of those men, for whom I have a high esteem. I had and have no desire for controversy; my object is simply constructive. I described animistic heathenism as concretely as I could; I confined myself strictly to that. I set down facts of my own observation and those of other colleagues. I began with the facts of experience; then I drew inferences from them. If these do not agree with the dominant hypothesis of evolution, that is due to the brutal facts and not to the "religious and historical presuppositions" of the observer. I do not deny that something can be said for the idea of evolution in the religions of mankind, but the study of Animism, with which I have long been familiar as an eyewitness, did not lead me to that idea. Rather the conviction which I arrived at is, that animistic heathenism is not a transition stage to a higher religion. I think I have adduced sufficient facts to establish that, and facts do not vanish away before hypothesis. Let them produce facts to prove that animistic heathenism somewhere and somehow evolved upwards towards a purer knowledge of God, real facts, not imaginary constructions of such an evolution. Any form of Animism known to me has no lines leading to perfection, but only incontestable marks of degeneration.

I have worked as a missionary for many years in intimate contact with thousands of the adherents of animistic heathenism, and I have been convinced that the determining force of that heathenism is hostile to God. I was forced in a hand to hand conflict with it to consider the powers at work therein. Behind the animistic notions which interest the observer are mighty forces; whether these come from above

or from beneath cannot be decided *a priori*. The missionary comes sooner or later to feel them. And the attitude of heathenism towards the Christian religion, always hostile, suggests that it divines an enemy, not a superior brother. As a matter of fact, Christianity succeeds only when, after much deep ploughing, it has turned up a fresh human soil. The best converts from heathenism are its severest judges.

This stern estimate of heathenism does not forbid the missionary, to whom a thorough knowledge of his people's religion is of the first importance, collecting with care and recognising frankly as of Divine origin whatever it contains of longing for God, of moral feeling, and of desire for better things, nay rather it demands it. I thought I had made that sufficiently plain in my book. But in heathenism the gold of the divine thoughts becomes dross. At best what true thoughts are there are an undercurrent; in no case do they afford a decided religious or slowly ennobling motive. I have not devoted a special chapter to these religious values; I thought they were more likely to be rightly estimated when placed in their proper connection. Who would care, as a missionary among the heathen, to lead a life of conflict, of disappointment and privation, unless he were convinced that the *vox viva evangelii* would be heard even in the most depraved heathen heart; unless he believed that even the Animists because they are ἐκ θεοῦ are also εἰς θεον.

The author's intention was to set the darker powers of heathenism over against the quickening forces of the Gospel. He felt impelled to do so by experiences similar to those which befell those earlier missionaries, who determined to declare to the Church at Antioch, "All that God had done with them and how He had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles" (Acts xiv. 27; xv. 3, 4, 12). It is written of them: "They caused great joy to all the brethren." To-day as of old the victory is with the Gospel, that Gospel of which the great Apostle to the Gentiles, from a rich experience, testifies that it works οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλα καὶ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ (1 Thess. i. 5).

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INTRODUCTION

It is an historical fact that modern foreign missions have produced and are producing magnificent results, a fact which cannot be gainsaid even by those who have little sympathy with missionaries or mission operations. Protestant Christendom, ever since it began to carry into effect its mission thoughts, has had abundant experience of the *Magnalia Dei* among the heathen. Thousands, nay, millions of heathen in the most diverse stages of civilisation have renounced idolatry and entered into fellowship with the living God. They have turned away from idols with a genuine aversion, have given up the vices of lying and immorality, together with the horrors of bloodshed they were wont to practise, and have learned from their new faith to be truthful and honest, merciful and kind. The Gospel has made them new men, with new thoughts, new feelings, new volitions. Many nominal Christians, some hypocrites here and there, may be found among them, but countless thousands have been truly converted, and have confirmed the reality of their inward change by a corresponding change of life.

Mission work has accomplished even greater things than this; it has gained a notable victory over entire tribes and nations. The Kols, the Karens, the Battaks, the Niassers, the Alfurus of Minahassa, the Waganda, the Basutos, and the tribes of many South Sea Islands, are there to prove that the Gospel is capable of completely transforming whole nations, delivering them from idolatry; it has turned their swords into ploughshares, their rule of might into a law fashioned by Christian principles; it has naturalised humanity and civilisation in their midst. Many a heathen people, accepting the Gospel, has been changed fundamentally.

In view of these results of Protestant foreign missions it

should be a seasonable and profitable task to trace out the effects of the preaching of the Gospel in the mission field, and to enquire what powers are most effective in that preaching for the Christianising of the heathen. Wherever there are visible results the forces that produce them can be observed. What, then, are the forces of the Gospel that are producing results of such importance? The "Gospel," as we call it, is infinitely rich and many-sided, containing a great variety of God's gifts to men; it brings the love of God to a selfish world, all kinds of deliverance to the enslaved, truth to the deluded, wisdom to the foolish, reconciliation with God to the sinner, help to the suffering, a new heart to the unclean; it purifies and ennobles earthly relations; it unites the world with God; it brings to mankind joy, peace, and freedom; it emancipates the enslaved masses and invests the individual with personal responsibility and worth. Which of these various gifts produces those results in the heathen world? Is it the lofty morality of Christianity that conquers the heathen? Is it the majestic personality of the Son of Man or the mystery of the Son of God? Is it Jesus the Reconciler, or the sublime example of the fairest of the sons of men? Is it the spiritual superiority of Christianity, its civilising power, or its promise of deliverance from sin and guilt? Are we to regard one or other of these powers as central, or are we confronted with an inextricable intermingling of the most diverse influences whose roots remain undiscovered? The practice of foreign missionaries has hitherto been to narrate to the heathen the stories of the Old and New Testaments, to instruct them in the law and the promises, to set forth the crucified before their eyes, to commend the Saviour of sinners, to endeavour to awaken the hope of eternal life and to instruct them in the duties of a new life. Which of those diverse incitements contains the vital powers that work so mightily? Do they all work together? Or does the power lie elsewhere in a region perhaps less noticed?

It is worth while following up this question even at the risk of getting a different answer from what we hoped to get.

Mission work can only welcome such investigation in its own interests. Every effect of the Divine word is, no doubt, a mystery which cannot be fully explained by psychology nor divested completely of the wonderful. Force itself, even in the investigations of the physicist, is a mystery, yet we get nearer it by exact observation. And just as in the kingdom of nature we can trace back definite phenomena to definite forces, and reach a more complete and exact description thereof, so in the kingdom of God observation of actual results may help us to a more exact investigation of the forces underlying them. Our question then comes to this: vital powers are imported into and become operative in the heathen world through the preaching of the Gospel; what are those quickening Gospel powers?

Should we succeed in answering this question the gain would not be small. In the first place it would be a gain to the mission worker. The messenger would have a clear idea of what was vital, essential, and indispensable in his message; he would know what he must first communicate to those he is seeking to evangelise. As a wise teacher he must, at first, in his offer of salvation aim at what is central. More than any other worker in the Church he is compelled to put to himself the question: What is the essential element in the Gospel message? Many reasons will constrain the missionary, especially among a primitive people, to begin with an offer of the kernel of the Gospel. A long after-training of the converts, continued even for generations, will be necessary ere they can enter into the fulness of its spiritual wealth. But what is the fundamental truth which the missionary should offer to the heathen to enable them to become genuine Christians before they can acquire a full knowledge of the word of God? The missionary will always act here in accordance with his own personal conception and experience of what is the essence of the Gospel. He may be wrong in his methods; he may even be materially wrong; in that case he exposes himself to the danger of doubting the power of his message. But the more successful mission work becomes, the more legitimate will it be to infer from

what the heathen accept, the manner in which they accept it, and the forces that are set free among them by that acceptance, what is the kernel and power of Christianity which must be emphatically presented as fundamental, and what are its less important elements to be set aside for the time being, even although they should appear to the evangelist to be of the first order of importance.

The missionary will also gain a better understanding of the spiritual life of the heathen and heathen Christians by attending to the effects of his preaching on the souls of his hearers. He will thereby escape the danger of making his own spiritual life, the standard for measuring the progress of his converts, or setting up the course of his own inner development as a law of Christian life, binding even on heathen Christians. He will thus be preserved from carrying on a propaganda rather than a mission, *i.e.* from labelling instead of inwardly renewing his adherents. Immature Christians are prone to imitate the outward forms of Christian life which they observe in their leaders, to speak the language of Canaan, to copy the demeanour of Godliness and thereby to impose upon their pastors. What is real to the preacher may become to them a mere phrase. An understanding of their psychological condition will warn the missionary against desiring to see the little David strutting in Saul's armour, or bringing up Christians against his will, who by hypocritical imitation conceal those defects which can scarcely be overcome at the present stage of their inner life. If he sees clearly the effects of the Gospel on the heathen and on those who are becoming Christians, he will appreciate more accurately the supposed defects of their spiritual life and judge better of their reality. He will learn to wait with greater patience for fruit during the period when the laws of spiritual growth allow nothing to appear save young shoots or rudimentary blossoms; he will be able to judge soberly and lovingly the results of his evangelistic labours and discover with thankfulness germs of life where the uninstructed eye sees nothing. The observer of missions from the outside will, if he takes the trouble to study those

powers in their progressive development, be more just in his judgment than the superficial critic of missions usually is.

The answering of our question might also enrich the Church at home. Custom, with its paralysing and blinding power, has always prevented Christians from seeing what really is central in their faith. To the pampered possessor the great gifts of Christianity easily become unintelligible abstractions and modes of speech. They are inherited, and that conceals the real worth of them. Foreign missions yield manifold gifts to the Christendom that promotes them; they fructify its spiritual life, quicken its various energies, and provide new outlets for Christian love; they help us to understand the ways of God with the nations at a time when Christian Churches, enfeebled by age, have almost entirely forgotten the guidance of their youth; from their most prosperous harvest fields they make clear to the Christian Churches their ever new duties, viz., that of being educators of the nations and not self complacent coteries of the elect. When the home flowers are yielding little, missions gather fresh honey for theology. They may also render service to the home Church by setting forth in large unmistakable letters the quickening powers of the Gospel. Not that Christianity needs to be supported by any apologetic of that sort. But not unfrequently its professors need to be lifted to a higher platform, whence with clear vision they may no longer confound what is incidental and secondary with what is essential, and see great and small in their due proportions. The grandeur of mission work corrects the spiritual perspective of a faithful Church.

But the enquiry is confronted with considerable difficulties, which render the obtaining of a sure answer somewhat doubtful. We must know heathenism exactly as it is before we can rightly appreciate the resistance which it offers to the Gospel. Anyone, therefore, who wishes to observe the effects of the Gospel on the heathen world must have a perfect knowledge of heathenism. To give a true picture of heathenism, however, even although we confine ourselves to a single phase of it, is a very difficult matter. Where shall we find an absolutely reliable account of any heathen

religion? Many observers incline to dwell unduly on its favourable side; others bury in the gloom of the heathen "night" the outline of the picture. The former underestimate the downward drag, and the latter fail to see the distinctive peculiarities of the religion. It is hardly possible for travellers, in their brief sojourn and imperfect knowledge of the people and their language, to get a thorough knowledge of their religion. The shy pagan does not care to have the foreigner prying into his sanctuary. Scholars whose knowledge of heathenism is not obtained from personal observation are in danger of constructing the heathen religion at their study table. And Christian missionaries do not always give the requisite earnest study to the heathenism they wish to overthrow, especially when it is breaking up around them. Often they are blamed, and not always unjustly, for their prejudice and their lack of understanding of heathen religion. Yet in the estimate and description of heathen religions, the rank of crown witnesses must be given to missionaries. Their constant living with the heathen, their exact knowledge of the language, customs, and legal relations, enable them to see into the depths of their religion more clearly than any other Europeans. They offer Christianity, and that compels them to make a thoroughgoing comparative study of heathenism. Their daily observation of the people also enables them to see heathenism as it really is; they witness its abominations and its demoralising powers; they feel its darkness and might as painful realities; they hear the groans of the oppressed; they see the deadly swamp of heathen corruption. And too often they have to experience in their own bodily sufferings and martyrdom the devilish powers of heathenism. But no one is better qualified than they to disinter whatever elements of truth a heathen religion contains, to judge whether it has representations of God and what they are; whether beneath the dark surface any moral and religious powers lie concealed. Their love for the people among whom they labour makes them keen observers, especially of their moral and religous life. Assuming that a missionary is constantly alive to the danger of unduly

emphasising the darker side, a danger to which an evangelist is perhaps more exposed than any other, we may trust him to give a faithful picture of actual heathenism.[1]

There is, of course, a copious missionary literature testifying to the results of the Gospel which has little to say in answer to our question. The missionaries report as to the success of their work or the resistance that it meets. But they rarely turn their attention to psychological facts. Because of their traditionary standpoint, few of them take the trouble to trace the intricate paths along which a heathen heart pushes upwards; they simply rejoice in the fact that the disciple has reached the desired goal. And who would blame men in the midst of a life and death struggle for so doing? We have not many personal testimonies of converted heathen Christians. Very few of those who have found the way to God are capable of such an accurate analysis of their experience as would remove all doubt of its reality.

The world is the mission field to-day; it is impossible to make so wide a region the subject of any exact enquiry; we must take one definite section of it and confine our attention to that. Mission work among the animistic heathen of the Indian Archipelago, where that form of heathenism has few variations, commends itself for such study; it possesses a double advantage. Heathenism in these islands lying between India and Australia has already been thoroughly examined. Mission work has also been carried on with great success widely throughout the whole Archipelago, in Sumatra, Nias, Celebes, Ambon, Halmahera, and has led to the partial formation of national Churches of heathen Christians. Here, then, may be seen visible results among a genuinely heathen people. An exact knowledge of one form of the animistic heathenism of those islands, acquired through personal observation by a missionary who has a scientific interest in religion, coupled with a comparative study of the religion of kindred

[1] I am much gratified at being able to adduce Professor Kähler as a witness in favour of the competence of the much abused missionary. He says: "Our missionaries are the only people in a position to observe genuine heathenism and the effects of the Gospel upon it."

peoples, encourages us to undertake a work planned like the present. Many a glance will be thrown upon the religions of Africa and of other animistic peoples as far as they exhibit similar features. We shall also point out in passing certain characteristic elements which belong to heathenism everywhere. The missionary may also be allowed to base his inquiry on that form of heathenism with which he is most familiar, that of the Battaks of Sumatra. This may be taken as a type of the Indonesian religions, which it is fitted to be, because of the surprisingly uniform character of those religions. The experiences of missions amid this form of heathenism may perhaps encourage those who are familiar with heathen religions of a higher type to undertake a similar inquiry.

It will be necessary to add to one's own experience and observation those of other mission workers within the prescribed region, either to confirm or to correct the results obtained. Hence numerous quotations, more or less detailed, are unavoidable. At the same time, in the interests of truth, we can only use such as stand the test of serious criticism. All anecdotage of doubtful value is, of course, ruled out. Men who are both critics and workers guarantee the reliability of our authorities. A great part of the material quoted is taken from Warneck's "Allg. Missionszeitschrift," the critical sobriety of which has done much to secure for missions a place among the sciences. The reports of the Rhine Missionary Society, and those Holland authorities which are mainly adduced, may be taken as absolutely trustworthy. The same is true of the "Basler Missionstudien," of the literature of the "East African Mission," of the "Moravian Brethren," and others. A sober view of one's own mission work sharpens the eye for the real in the accounts of other fellow-workers. A work like the present runs a greater risk of giving offence to many by its moderation, than of incurring the reproach of uncritical bias.

To get a clear insight into the Divine powers of the Gospel, we must take into account its entire surroundings as it enters into the heathen world. We must begin with an

account, as faithful as possible, of the social, moral, and religious practices of animistic heathenism, basing it upon the Battak religion, its worship of gods, spirits, and souls. We shall then endeavour to comprehend the complicated religious beliefs and the characteristic features of the motley cultus in order to estimate aright the nature and power of animistic heathenism. This will be necessary towards helping us afterwards to trace the counter working powers of the Gospel. But before considering these in detail the two opponents, heathenism and the Gospel, must be confronted with each other. What is the attitude of heathenism towards Christianity when first brought into contact with it? What are the attracting and repelling powers they severally display? We need to have as exhaustive an estimate as possible of the natural factors which come into operation as allies of heathenism or of the Gospel, to hinder or further, to open up the way or block it. Psychological processes are complicated. But we must not shrink from the trouble of laying bare the entangled roots of the natural causal connection. We shall then be in a better position to gain a clear view of the powers that transcend human explanations, and to see how they, partly resting on those surrounding natural factors, partly working against them, reveal the action of the living God. These somewhat minute preliminary investigations will enable us to approach the question with some prospect of success: What are the living forces of the Gospel which tell upon the heart of the heathen and upon those who are becoming Christian, and how do they act?

ANIMISTIC HEATHENISM

A. BATTAK HEATHENISM[1]

ANYONE carefully observing the religion of the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago and its effects upon their daily life, will be forced to admit that these heathen are very religious. Their habits and customs, their laws and their morals, their social and family life, have all a religious foundation. Religion seems to be the determining power both of the national and the individual life, and it is in their religion that we must seek the roots of their thoughts and the motives of their action.[2] This would indeed give them a superiority over many so-called Christian nations, if the reference to God or gods constituted the essence of heathen religiousness. No doubt gods are known, their names occasionally mentioned, and myths about them recounted; but the gods are of secondary importance for religious feeling. The central fact of the Indonesian religions is a feeling of dependence, amounting to fear, not of the Deity, but of sinister powers, spirits, and souls. It is fear of these powers which alone impels those heathen to seek ways and means of averting their pernicious influence. The gods are really powerless and apathetic spectators of this conflict, and therefore no one gives himself any trouble about them.

If you ask an intelligent Battak about the gods of his people, he will mention three names: Batara Guru, Soripada, and

[1] For the following account of Battak heathenism, *cf.* J. Warneck, "Die Religion der Battak."

[2] In a prize essay which I prescribed for Battak teachers on the theme: Were the heathen Battaks really seeking God? it was shown that the whole life of the heathen, not only in its highest moments, but in its daily ramifications, was related to religion. The same impression is given by Spieth's book on the Ewe-tribes.

Mangalabulan, with whom are associated two others, Ompu Tuhan Mula djadi and Debata Asiasi. The first three, usually called "the three gods," did not originally belong to Battak heathenism, but were forced on the Battaks, as on many other peoples of the Indian Archipelago, by the Hindus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when they ruled part of the great Sunda Islands.[1] In them we find again the Indian Trimurti. The real supreme god of the Battaks is Ompu Tuhan Mula djadi, whose name signifies source of creation, and who is now curiously thrust into the background. To-day Batara Guru (teacher) is, in the consciousness of the people, the supreme deity. The three Indian gods were made sons of the supreme god of the Battaks, and were thus assimilated into the national faith.[2] Batara Guru is to-day worshipped as the preserver of the world, with whom men have chiefly to do. He is called Batara Guru, the god whom one obeys, whom one consults, on whom one depends, from whom one enquires the law, on whom the laws of earth depend. To him Ompu Tuhan Mula djadi has resigned his government of the world,[3] so that he has become the most popular of the five. After him in importance comes Soripada, the god who grants to his worshippers the blessing of children. The evil principle that works in opposition both to gods and men is Mangalabulan, who is therefore invoked in prayers which are the outcome of fear. Asiasi, who is seldom mentioned, means compassion. Practically, the dis-

[1] The Hindus had then established a mighty kingdom on Java (Modjopahit), whence they influenced the coasts of Sumatra, and in a peaceful way imparted to the Battaks some elements of culture, besides fragments of their religion and language.

[2] It is said in a Battak legend that those three gods sprang from a great egg, which was hatched by a fabulous butterfly, and that Mula djadi gave them wives. This myth shows how the popular consciousness endeavoured to balance accounts with the gods imported by the Hindus. Another tradition says that Mula djadi himself created those three gods, and assigned to them a dwelling-place in heaven. That leaves Mula djadi supreme, but lessens the honours he receives. But it is really only an exchange of names.

[3] Yet he also troubles himself very little about his human children; it is said in a Battak story: Batara Guru, after being once called down to men by his messenger the swallow, declared it was too much for him, and that in future he should be left in place.

tinctions among these five are of little importance; in the consciousness of the people they are all jumbled together. The ordinary man can give no explanation whatever either of the names or of the functions of the gods. These deities have really nothing to do with those of the Indian conquerors. Their persons are taken up into the Battak Pantheon and refashioned in accordance with Battak ideas.

As the Battaks recognise Guru or Mula djadi as the highest deity, before whom the other gods recede into the background, so we find among all the peoples of the Indian Archipelago one Supreme Deity. Among the Malays, such is Batara; among the Dayaks, Mahatara; in Serawak, Betara; in Buru, Lahatala; among the Olongadju on Borneo, Hatalla; in Siau, Duwata; among the Javanese, Dewata or Djawata; on Nias, Lowalangi; in Halmahera, Djohumadihutu; among the Toradja in Celebes, Jlai (man), etc.

The Battaks, like many Indian peoples, imagine three worlds, one above the other. The upper world, with seven stories, is the seat of the gods, the middle world the abode of men, and the under world the home of spirits and of demons. The life of the gods is like that of men; they have wives and children, slaves and cattle; they play, wage war, carry on lawsuits, etc. Human souls are sent down from a kind of preexistence in the upper world to the middle world of earth. Men are called "gods in the midst," *i.e.* the middle world.

Ompu Tuhan Mula djadi is regarded as the creator. That is what the name itself means. They say of him: he flattens the skull, twines the bowels, sets agoing the heart, expands the liver, opens the mouth, makes clear the eyes of the sons of men. That is a recognition of him as man's creator, yet in the consciousness of the people, and in spite of myths, that belief falls into the background. There are also legends current which represent man as born now from an egg hatched by a fabulous fowl, now from a mushroom, and now from an animal. On other Indian islands, man is supposed to have sprung from a woman who came down from heaven and was impregnated by the wind, or again the first man grew out of the earth, or on trees, or on a bamboo.

The general belief in the Eastern Islands of the Archipelago is that men have sprung from nature, while that of the myth-forming Western Islands is that they came into being through a creative act of God. This latter conception underlies the nature myth that the sun as male principle enters into union with the earth as female principle, and from that union man proceeds.[1] Other Indian peoples declare that God formed the first human pair out of stone and that the wind breathed life into the stone image (Toradja), some say again that God made the first man of earth (Halmahera).

There exists a long Battak narrative about the creation of the world. Si Boru parudjar, daughter of Ompu Tuhan Mula djadi, was one day in company with her younger sister winding yarn in the upper world. The yarn was soon finished, but the ball of the elder despite her efforts grew no larger than an egg. In her vexation she let it fall; it fell down to the middle world, which already existed in a state of mud; she held still the end of the thread in her hand. Down this thread she herself slid to the middle world, where all trace of her was lost in the mud and water. In her distress she sent the swallow Mandi and a beetle (messengers of God) to her father praying him to send her a handful of earth. This she spread out upon the water, thereby creating the earth, and there she took up her abode. Then came Naga Padoha, a fabulous Dragon, and destroyed the newly-created earth. The heavenly virgin created the earth a second time, and a second time the Dragon destroyed it. At her request her father caused the earth to be dried up; she then found the Dragon and outwitted him. Under pretence of clothing him with ornaments she secretly bound him so that he could no longer move. Once more she created a new earth which subsisted. According to another variation she thrust a sword, up to the hilt, into the body of the fettered Dragon. When he sometimes rolls himself about he produces

[1] We come upon the same notion among the Ewe. The masculine sun marries the female earth (Spieth). The earth is called "Our Mother." She is the heavenly maid, who in union with heaven has begotten men, beasts, and plants, nay even the gods of earth (Kruyt, "Animisme," p. 68).

an earthquake and men cry suhul (*i.e.* swordgripe), that they may remind him of his captivity and helplessness.[1]

The creation legend is transmitted in another form in the southern province Angkola. Batara Guru,[2] they say, once went down into a chasm and there, on the horns of a buck which he had taken with him, built a raft; on this he spread out the earth. He caused trees to grow for the ravens and swallows, who were the first inhabitants of earth, then he created the sun and moon; finally, he created men out of earth which had been brought from the upper world. These men he animated through magic formulas and gifted them with speech.

Of the five chief gods there are neither pictures nor symbols. They are worshipped neither in temples nor in holy places. They do not even traffic with men through any media. Men have little to do with them, and their names are only met with in myths and prayers. More important for religious feeling, because nearer to men, are the deities of second rank, inferior gods, who are not of human origin, such as ancestors, who are yet mainly worshipped though not dependent on the chief gods. They are more feared than the gods who are far off in heaven; and they are more needed in the village and in the field. Hence the first place is always given them in the sacrificial prayers. Several of them are worshipped through media or symbols, either animals or images. In them are embodied powers of nature which bear more directly upon the welfare of men than those nebulous gods. Such is the Debata idup, a masculine and a feminine deity; in whom is worshipped the power of generation. This deity confers the blessing of children, the lack of which is felt by uncivilised man to be the greatest misfortune. He is worshipped in the form of two wooden images, one masculine the other feminine, and these symbols are carried round the house on the backs of the married pair while entreat-

[1] The Niassers have a similar legend about the genesis of the earth (Sundermann, "Die Insel Nias").

[2] In this province, which is more subject to Malay influence, it is significant that the creator of the world is not Mula djadi but Batara Guru.

ing the blessing of children. Baras pati in tano is a kindly earth god, in whom is personified the fruitful power of the earth. The maturing of the fruits of the field is of the greatest importance to an agricultural people ; consequently this deity is more feared and worshipped than all the heavenly gods put together. He is the first to be invoked in all sacrificial prayers. He is conceived as dwelling on the earth, and is seen embodied in the house lizard whose image is very often found in houses. Boru Saniang Naga is a female water spirit, in whom is worshipped both the beneficent and the destructive powers of water. Boru na Mara is a spirit of the air who causes disease. The worship of such semi-deities is met with everywhere in Indonesia. The powers of nature that are worshipped in them are thought of as independent of the Creator of the world, whose power does not extend to the matter or forces of the world. The water deities, the Saniang or Sangiang, are specially popular on many islands of the Archipelago. That is not surprising among islanders, who are so often in peril of water and who yet owe to water the greater part of their means of living. In addition to these there are innumerable local deities who owe their origin to the fear of volcanoes, whirlpools, water falls, and such strange and impressive phenomena of nature. There is no precise distinction between these local nature deities and the ancestors who are supposed to dwell in such places. There is also a worship of the beneficent and the destructive powers of nature alongside the worship of the Creator, but with no inner connection between them. The significance of the Creator for religious feeling has fallen into the background. The mysterious powers of nature are more considered because more feared. Their worship narrows the religious horizon. To the Animist what threatens most danger demands most careful service and propitiation.

An example of the way in which myths originate through fear of uncomprehended natural phenomena is given by a legend current among the Battaks on Samosir, which seeks to explain the eclipse of the sun and moon. In the remote olden times the sun had seven sons, all of whom scorched the

earth as hotly as their mother. Men could not endure their heat, and in their distress sent the swallow to the moon, beseeching him to come and help them. The moon agreed to do so, but required of men a promise that they would come to his help against the sun if she should turn in enmity against him. Thereupon the moon seized all his children (the stars) and concealed them. He demanded of men a great quantity of betel leaves, of lime, and all other material of siri-chewing; he chewed these all up, and collected the blood-red juice in seven large bowls. Then he called to the sun and said: I have slain and eaten all my children, do you kill and slay yours also. In proof of his statement he showed the seven bowls, the red contents of which looked like blood. The sun agreed, caught her seven sons, slew and ate them. But the moon afterwards set his children, the stars, at liberty. The sun saw that she had been deceived, and waged war on the moon; she gathered hired warriors, spirits of the air called lau, and sent them against the moon. An eclipse of the moon meant that the sun's warriors were pressing the moon hardly. Then men were under obligation to help the moon by crying with all their might: Set the moon at liberty again, you warriors of the sun. Conversely an eclipse of the sun takes place when the moon's warriors, who were called laha, violently assailed the sun.[1]

We have seen that one root of the Battak religion, and that the weakest, is its relation to mythological deities. A second root, the most vigorous of all, is the fear produced by the secret uncomprehended powers of nature. There is a third, very delicate and very difficult to discover, though deeply imbedded in the soul of the people. The eye, searching in the darkness, perceives the outline of a thought of some

[1] This marvellous myth is also found among other peoples. Kruyt speaks of a similar legend in mid-Celebes. Sundermann likewise says that the Niassers speak of the sun having slain her children. It is striking to come upon the same legend in the Ewe tribes in Togo, though without any reference to the eclipse of the moon. The Santals in India have also a similar myth. The woman "the moon" persuades the man "the sun" to eat up his sons, the day stars, by maintaining that she had already eaten up her daughters, the night stars. Because of this deception the sun is to this hour enraged against the moon, and pursues her through the heavens.

ommipotent power reigning over all those deities. Among the Battaks this is reflected in the general name Debata, *i.e.* god. He is called simply god, also lord and grandfather. The idea which is here come upon of a supreme God is very vague, and is always in conflict with animistic feeling. All these chief gods and all great chiefs are called Debata. Great chiefs are to their subjects the highest beings, because they are most to be feared.[1] Everything wonderful and worthy of veneration—ancestors, distinguished men, wild beasts, striking objects of a higher civilisation—is called grandfather. The myths about the deities are not all the common possession of the people, but however dim the notions about them are, the heathen Battak divines in the Debata the Lord who reigns over the universe in general and over man in particular. To Him men turn instinctively in special distress. One often hears in daily life expressions such as "everything depends on God," "we are in God's hands," "that depends on God," "as God grants," "God is gracious." There are beautiful proverbs about God—"a drop of dew with God's blessing makes a feast," "what God does man must not change," "God rises and looks down upon those who suffer wrong," "do not follow crooked ways for riches come from God," "God is a righteous Judge," "wherever we sit God is present." God, not Mula djadi or any other god of mythology, is at least divined in the popular consciousness as the requiter and guardian of right.[2] Hence the oath, which appeals to God the Judge, is held sacred, and judgments of God are a dreaded *ultima ratio* in the administration of justice. The suspected criminal, for example, is allowed to grasp the red hot iron or dart it at another. Even war is conceived as

[1] In Purba, on the Sea of Tobo, the heathen asked a Battak evangelist: "Is there really then a Debata besides Tuan Purba," the head chief. The heathen of Uluan said to Bruch the missionary when he preached to them about God, "Thou art our Debata." The Basuto chief Maleo declared to Grützner, the missionary: "Who is God, I am God."

[2] The Niassers also have beautiful proverbs about God. They call Him the requiter of good and evil, "it rests with God," "God kills and makes alive," "God is only a handbreadth above us." For all that they have no fear of God, for Lowalangi is a good spirit whom we do not need to bring into a friendly mood by sacrifice. Fear alone impels to worship.

a judgment of God. The side which has one slain first is shown by God's judgment to be in the wrong.[1] Hence at the beginning of every battle the warriors pray to God that He would help the righteous cause to conquer.

The above-named deities have no relation whatever to morality. They are not thought of in those moral sayings and legal actions. No Battak, of course, can explain why, in many situations of life, he passes over Batara Guru and the other gods, and feels that he is related to the Debata. That can only be explained by assuming that there is in the popular consciousness the remains of a purer idea of God, alongside and above the recognition of a plurality of gods, a view also that cannot be derived from those. Belief in God had been reduced, by nature worship, fear of spirits and moral coarseness, to a state in which it was no longer recognizable. The host of spirits, born of fear, thrust themselves between God and man, and left behind that faded image of God, which still throws a faint shadow on the feelings of the people, but not on its thought, which is therefore so full of contradictions. Without that assumption we are in presence of an enigma. Whence comes the idea of a supreme Deity exalted above all which is no longer understood by the heathen of to-day, and which has become a mere phrase on their lips? It cannot have been distilled from the motley jumble of the worship of gods and of nature, for it exists alongside of it, and that not in the form of a thought victoriously carried out, but in direct opposition to it. In all the religions of the Indian Archipelago, and probably also of Africa, we meet with the idea of god as of a dimly felt highest court of appeal, enthroned above all the gods that are known and named.[2] He is not worshipped; He is

[1] We find this appeal to the judgment of God even among the Toradja on Celebes. "The aim of the judgment of God is to let a matter be determined by the gods." Each party is asked to thrust a lance into the earth, and that party whose spear goes deepest has won. In this case the earth deity decides. Or they dive under water, and the one who remains longest under water has a just cause. Here the water deities decide.

[2] Livingstone has somewhere said, There is no need to speak of the existence of God, or of a future life, even among the lowest tribes, for these are generally accepted truths among them.

scarcely even feared; He is so little known that nothing can be said about Him, save that one occasionally flees to Him. He is really in contradiction with the form in which those heathen religions appear to-day. The realities of animistic heathenism to-day are Polytheism and worship of spirits, together with the fear and magic which accompany them.[1] Nevertheless, though painted over with colours of the loudest tints, the delicate outline of the original picture has not been entirely effaced.

The idea of God is dimly preserved; the worship of God is almost entirely lost. A man stands in no relation to the far-off gods, and needs not to fear them. Consequently he has no interest in having any communication with them; he has little sense of dependence on the gods, but always feels that he is dependent on the spirits of the dead (as will be shown further on). The common man hardly knows the names of the gods.[2] These names are of course invoked in the sacrificial prayers, but only in union with the lower demons and ancestors. The spirits are always the first to be invoked. The heathen are afraid to pass over a deity in their formulas of prayer and therefore heap name upon name. Prayer with them is not a question of Divine worship freely offered, but a necessary means of averting a calamity. The angry deity must be appeased, his jealousy averted, his ill will set aside.[3] The Battak christians use a word for prayer different from that of the heathen, knowing well that the magical formulas of the heathen cannot be called prayer. Such a prayer will run somewhat as follows: O, grand-father Boras pati ni tano, who dwellest in our village, help us

[1] Sundermann testifies of the Niassers: "They know of a Supreme Being, and frequently name Him. But though His name is constantly on their lips, and the highest power is ascribed to Him, there is hardly any real veneration or worship" (Sundermann, "Nias," p. 59).

[2] "A Toradja is perfectly alive to the idea of the soul-stuff. But if asked about his gods and spirits he may repeat something he has casually heard, but will generally refer the questioner to his priest" (Kruyt).

[3] The heathen (the Hindu) does not pray to him in the usual sense of the word, but attempts to conjure or constrain him, to negotiate with him, or to flatter him.

in front and defend us behind.[1] Grandfathers, you three gods in the uppermost heights in the highest heaven, on the rolling stone supplied with steps. Come down, grandfather, from the perforated wood, from the upper gods to the lower (=men). Hear us, Grandfather Boras pati ni tano. Grandfather Batara Guru, Batara Guru whom we obey, Batara Guru whom we consult, Batara Guru on whom we all depend. Here, grandfather, is your sacrifice, a horse, a fish, a siri. Be at one with our grandfather Soripada, Sori the blameless, Sori whom we consult, Sori on whom we depend. Here is your sacrifice, a horse, a fish, a siri. Be at one with our grandfather Mangalabulan, who is great at the beginning and great at the end. Here is your sacrifice. . . . Be at one with our grandfather Mula djadi, the great one; overshadow us, grandfather, protect us, thou who art the origin of things created, who flattenest the skull, openest the ear, settest agoing the heart, expandest the liver, and dividest the fingers from each other. O, god Asiasi[2], who hast sent us into the world, have compassion on us. O, grandfathers, and all ye who are worthy of veneration (secondary gods and ancestors), ye who are round about on the mountains and the clouds. Here are your sacrifices. . . . O, Mother Boru na mora, Boru Saniangnaga, here are your sacrifices, etc. The following prayer shows the things that are prayed for:[3]—

Be at one with our grandfather the great god,
Who creates the body, flattens the breast,
Fixes the heart, gives strength to the calf of the leg,
Makes the head round and the eye clear,
Who makes the ear to hear. Thine ear hears,
Thine eye is clear. To guard and keep us, so that we are healthy
and well. Grant us sons who shall be warlike,
Men of counsel and champions.
Grant us daughters who can cook a great pot,
Who are clever at weaving.

[1] The power of earth as most important to man is first invoked, not the chief gods.

[2] The god Asiasi is mentioned only incidentally in the prayer formulas, and no one can tell anything about him.

[3] Spieth says of the Ewe negroes that they offer sacrifices, and pray to God directly, but still more do they pray to their ancestors.

The stars are numerous, the clouds gather into balls,
So let our sons be numerous and our daughters multiply.

Prayers are offered for the growth of the crops and for the stock of cattle, for health and victory, and numerous descendants. Animistic heathenism knows nothing of prayer as a free outpouring of the heart.[1] Only certain persons, such as priests and chiefs, can commit to memory the traditional formulas. The chief gods are never invoked in the prayers alone, but always in connection with and after the semi-deities. The existence of such nobly-sounding prayers must not lead us to infer that the heathen have intercourse with God, and pour out their hearts to Him. For the prayers are not in the first instance directed to Him, but to the ancestors and earth spirits who are most feared. They are vain repetitions of fixed formulas with which the ordinary sacrifices are presented. They are only uttered at great festivals of the tribe, or in cases of misfortune. While the worship of spirits, which we shall describe later, is familiar in its minutest ramification to every one, the worship of the gods is a matter for the priests or the tribal chiefs. Intercourse with the gods is thrown on them, because they alone have the necessary knowledge. The same thing is seen everywhere in the Indian Archipelago.[2]

Sacrifice is but rarely offered to the gods. The animal mostly sacrificed is the white horse. It is either solemnly slaughtered in presence of the whole tribe, in which case the blood is regarded as an offering, or it is devoted to God, and

[1] A heathen priest once told me that he prayed daily for his son, who was in Padang, that God would be with him. But when I mentioned this to the christians and catechumens, and asked them if that was formerly the custom, they said it was not; and if the statement of the priest was true his prayers were to be ascribed to the influence of the gospel which he has heard here.

[2] Man is not familiar with them (the gods) because their nature is entirely different from his, and inconceivable to him. He cannot therefore simply address or invoke them. He must know the way in which they are to be approached. Thus originated the need for priests and priestesses as intermediaries between spirits and men. These priests must have a highly-developed doctrine of the gods, so that we now know an entire system of gods and spirits among uncivilised men (Kruyt, "Animisme," p. 462).

then allowed to live, but it must not be sold. This function of dedication is performed by the sacrificing priest.

The heathen in certain circumstances do not shrink from deceiving the gods. They offer an egg, declaring to the deity that they are giving him a white buffalo.[1] "Toradjas and Minahassers end the day by an imitated crowing in order to mislead the gods with regard to the duration of a sacrificial festival." The Battaks, when they cross the sea and pass the dwelling-place of any deity, call upon him, assuring him that the buffalo which they have in the boat is only a goat.[2] They are not even ashamed to curse God when things do not go according to their mind. Many old legends state that men declared war against God and bombarded Him from a mountain.

They believe that in earlier and better days there was more intercourse between gods and men. Heaven was then nearer earth, and the gods could be reached from a gigantic rock in the province of Angkola, till men maliciously destroyed it. Many legends tell how the sons of men found the way into heaven, and had communion with the Supreme God, and how daughters of the gods came down to earth and contracted marriages with men. According to another narrative (for every province has a different tradition) God was indignant because men had ceased to worship Him, and earth stank in His nostrils. He destroyed Mount Tinggir radja, which had hitherto enabled men to reach the gods, and removed heaven far away from earth so that all intercourse between God and men ceased. Such legends presuppose a dim remembrance of happier days when men were nearer God.

Belief in and worship of God and the gods, as above described, falls into the background in the religious life of the Battaks, and of all other inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago. They touch the merest fringe of their religious life.

[1] They act conversely towards men from courtesy. They present a fat pig for their entertainment, and say it is only a little chicken.

[2] The Niassers act similarly. Instead of the dog that is due they sometimes offer its ears, its tail and hair, which are buried instead of the animal. The dog is at the same time led through the grave.

The little that one can learn about them from inquiry is esoteric wisdom, and has little influence on the life of the people. The borderland and central ground is filled by something else, the fear of lower demons and of spirits of the dead, out of which fear springs superstition and ancestor worship. To understand aright this spirit worship, which puts forth the most wonderful blossoms, we must first make ourselves acquainted with the soil out of which it springs up a luxuriant weed. The soil is Animism, that conception of life, so strange to us, which places the soul, the soul-power, the life-stuff, in the centre of religious interest.

We take the word Animism in the widest sense in which it is used by the modern science of religion, as indicating that view of the world which, on the basis of primitive notions of the soul, leads partly to animalism, partly to anthropism (worship of the dead, ancestor worship, spiritism), and belief in demons. Wherever spirits are worshipped, Animism is found to be the presupposition of spiritism. The Battak people have got beyond the primitive stage of Animism, though they plainly exhibit all its characteristic features. Animism is in some sort the philosophy of the uncivilised man, in virtue of which he constructs for himself a picture of the world so far as he has an interest in it. It is occupied with the soul of the living man as well as with the souls of all living creatures, organisms, and even lifeless objects, to which it likewise ascribes a soul, or to speak more correctly soul-stuff. This soul-stuff then becomes the object of worship. From a universal soul, an indestructible store of life, living souls flow to men, animals, plants, metals, instruments, houses, etc. Whatever participates in this life-stuff is valuable and desirable. The vital question for the Animist is how to place his own soul in relation to the souls surrounding him, and to their powers, which are partly injurious and partly useful, with as little danger to himself and as much advantage to himself as possible. What must I do to protect and enrich my soul? That is the cardinal question of the animistic catechism. Animism is the key to an understanding of ancestor worship, and all that is

commonly called heathen superstition. An exact acquaintance with it is indispensable to an understanding of heathenism, because it is found all over the earth, and seems to be the foundation of spirit worship everywhere, and not only among the peoples of the Indian Archipelago.[1] We find traces of it in almost every region of the earth, and every student of religion must reckon with it. The study of Animism gives a surprising insight into the inner life and thought of primitive peoples. With all its strangeness this exotic world of ideas proves that even the "savage" thinks, and feels the need of a reasoned view of the world.

To the Animist the "soul" is something entirely different from what we understand it to be. It is an elixir of life, a life-stuff, which is found everywhere in nature. Man has two souls, one of which, the bodily soul, pertains to him during his life-time. It is a power outside himself conditioning his earthly wellbeing, but does not essentially belong to his person; at death it returns to the animistic storehouse. The other soul, the shadow soul, emerges only when the man dies. It is the shadowy continuation of his person, the part of his individuality that continues to live. The soul of the living man is conceived as a kind of life-stuff, indestructible and animating alternately this man and that.[2] Among peoples of a lower grade the soul-stuff is conceived impersonally as a vital power which at the death of its present possessor, passes over to something else, man, animal, or plant. Higher developed peoples conceive the soul as a refined body, to some extent an *alter ego*, a kind of man within the man. But this soul never coincides with his person, but remains outside his consciousness. It is handed

[1] The missionary, A. C. Kruyt, has given a thoroughly scientific account of Animism in the Indian Archipelago, the study of which cannot be too highly commended to all who are interested in the subject ("Het animisme in den Indischen Archipel").

[2] Even the pantheistic Hindu has a materialistic conception of the soul. There is always a kind of spiritual body corresponding to the material one. The I. does not belong to the soul, but is an attribute of the bodily life, a materialistic product. There is no organic connection between the pantheistically coloured soul and the materialistically determined individual. That corporealises the personal consciousness.

over to man at his conception from the loan office of nature. But it is so independent and incalculable a thing that it may at any moment leave him for a longer or a shorter period, as for example in dreams, or when it is frightened, or when it thinks itself insulted.

The well-being of the man depends upon its moods. It can be nourished, strengthened, and augmented: it can also be weakened, diminished, and enticed away.

This idea of the soul as an independent power, in and beside the man, is met with among many peoples in all parts of the earth. We find it everywhere in the Indian Archipelago, among the Kols, the Karens, and elsewhere in the remote parts of India, in Oceania and Africa, and among the Bush negroes of Suriname.[1]

The following pages will furnish numerous proofs of the world-wide sway of Animism. It is extremely instructive to trace its diffusion in the way Wundt has done in his "Psychology of Peoples." Many a wrong conception of religious and social usage is thereby corrected, and many an obscure custom set in its true light. Wundt discloses the continuity of animistic usages all over the earth so far as that can be done with the material at present available. It is unquestionably a universal law of religion and of psychology that primitive notions of the soul persist most tenaciously. Even in the higher religions, and in the heathenism that exists in Christendom, we find numerous usages of animistic origin. Buddhism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism have nowhere conquered this most tenacious of all forms of religion; they have not even entered into conflict with it; it is only overcome by faith in Jesus Christ.

The soul pervades the whole body, all the members of which are sharers of the soul-stuff, and therefore have a life of their own, a feeling of their own, and a will of their own.

[1] *Cf.* the works of Sundermann and Lett on Nias; Jellinghaus and Rottrot on the Kols and Santals; Kruyt, Adriani, and Coolsma on Netherland India; Döring on East Africa; Merensky on South Africa; Irle on the Hereros; Spieth on the Ewe; Eppler on Madagascar and the Karens; Kunze on New Guinea; Rösler on the Shambala; Schneider on Suriname; Wundt, "Volkerpsychologie," Band II., etc.

It is not the man who sees and hears and walks and breathes, but the eye sees, the ear hears, the foot walks, and the mouth breathes. It is not the man who feels pain, but the part of the body where the pain is located. If the soul-stuff is removed from a member it feels pain and becomes ill.[1] In man and beast this soul-stuff is found specially abundant in the head. Hence, in the division of food, the head of the slaughtered animal is always allotted to the chief. Head-hunting has its root in this idea. The vital power and courage of the dead man is appropriated by him who possesses his skull.[2] Medicine and magic are made out of human heads. The soul power is also found concentrated in the intestines, in the liver, and, therefore, in sacrifice the liver of the animal is offered.[3] In India the liver is regarded as the seat of feeling. They say, "my liver is in good condition," that is, I am in a pleasant state of feeling, or "my liver is hot," that is, my wrath is rising, etc. There is much soul-stuff in the blood, for life ebbs away with the blood. Hence, in the sacrifices that are offered to God, blood is an element. It is smeared on the beams of a house that is to be consecrated, that happiness and vital power may dwell there. If any one obtains some of another's blood, he thereby gains power over him. Strength is imparted by drinking the blood of the slain foe.[4] In Nias the carved images of ancestors are smeared with

[1] The Mentawey islanders say, The Regat has gone from the part of the body that is pained.

[2] Head-hunting is found, for example, on Nias, Celebes, Borneo, among the Papuans, formerly, probably, in the whole Indian Archipelago. On Solomon Islands and also among the original inhabitants of Formosa, who hunt for Chinese heads. Dr Adriani explains that head-snatching among the Toradja on Celebes was once a human sacrifice to the dead lest they should drag a member of the tribe to the kingdom of the dead. But in bringing home the skull of an enemy one also brings long life, health, and healing of disease, to his own tribe. For the same reason in Borneo and Sumatra human skulls are buried under the posts of a house at its erection. On Mentawey a man must be slain at the building of a house. Among the Basutos the village is protected from spirits by burying a human head beneath the door-posts. Among many peoples also a fresh human head is put under the foundations of a bridge.

[3] *Cf.* the offering of entrails among the ancients.

[4] Kruyt, "Animisme," p. 56 f.

blood, which gives soul to the dead wood. Soul-stuff is ascribed to the placenta. There is a mysterious connection between it and the child, its "elder brother," all through life. Its function, after being solemnly buried, is to warn men in certain circumstances of impending evil. It is largely used as a charm. The decayed piece of umbilical cord is carefully preserved. The hair also contains much soul power, and is therefore not cut by the heathen.[1] A mother rubs her sick child with her hair (hair magic, Nias). The Toradja nail hairy human scalps to the cocoanut trees, in order to make them fruitful by their soul power.[2] Hair is used as medicine. Betrothed couples exchange part of their hair in order to add power to each other's soul. All hair cut off is hidden or buried by its owner to prevent its getting into the hands of an enemy, who might, by burning it, seriously imperil his life. For there is a bodily connection between a man and the hair, as well as any other portions or secretions of his body that he has parted with. Much uncanny sorcery is based on this animistic notion. It is supposed that you can injure the whole man by getting into your power an animated part of his body.

The nails also are regarded as a seat of soul-stuff. Hair and nails are looked on as containing soul in surpassing measure, because they are constantly growing, a proof of their indestructible soul power. And therefore they are careful to prevent others from getting possession of the cuttings of their nails. No one will cut his nails after sunset, because then evil spirits are swarming around, who might get

[1] The Battaks cut their long hair when they become catechumens. Reitze, the missionary at Si Gaol, on the sea of Toba, tells how a chief, who desired to be a christian, allowed a Battak teacher to cut his hair. At the first cut of the scissors he exclaimed in terror: "Lord Jesus, let me remain in health." Any one who ventures to cut his hair shows that he is earnest in his purpose to give up heathenism. A Battak heathen, convinced by the power of God, and desiring to become a candidate for baptism, prayed the Christian teacher to cut off his long hair, for if another did so he would die. An old heathen in Uluan earnestly entreated that his "sanctuary," his long hair, might not be cut off, which would be his death.

[2] May not the scalp-hunting of the Indians be traced back to the same animistic root.

hold of the cuttings and thereby gain power over him. Saliva is medicinal, because it contains soul power, and is frequently spread upon the sick. Those who offer sacrifices spit upon the offering in order to add to it a part of themselves. Expectorated saliva must not be allowed to fall into the hands of an enemy.[1] Soul-stuff is also found in the teeth. Perhaps the widespread custom of filing the teeth meant originally an offering to ancestors, in which one gave up part of one's strength to preserve the rest. The sweat also, as a secretion of the body, contains soul-stuff, and so far as it communicates itself to the clothes, these become saturated with soul-stuff. The water that has washed great men is regarded as lucky, because it contains their sweat. Foot-prints can be bewitched by means of the sweat that adheres to them.[2] Dew, as the sweat of the earth, promotes health. Finally, human soul-stuff is found in tears, in urine, and in excrement. Urine, therefore, is used as medicine, and also, in Loba, as an antidote to dreams of evil purport.

A shadow is supposed to be some shadowy soul-stuff. The souls of the dead cast no shadow, because they no longer participate in the soul-stuff. Hence the shadow is regarded as a projection of the soul of the living. It is therefore forbidden to walk on anyone's shadow or to beat it. The shadow of man must not fall on a grave or a place where evil spirits dwell, otherwise the spirits will get the owner into their power. A man must not let his shadow fall on other people's food, else the eater will appropriate with his food the man's soul power, and he will pine away.[3]

[1] Helmich, the missionary, writes from New Guinea: "All fragments of food, the husks of betel nuts, and cigar ends, are either entirely removed and destroyed or carefully hidden from the stranger in a purse which they always carry with them, lest any one should make nais pau, bad magic." Kunze says that the Papuans carefully preserve fragments of tobacco, parings of their finger nails and hair, and even cast-off bandages, because, in virtue of the soul-stuff adhering to them, they may, in the hands of an enemy, become the means of practising evil magic.

[2] Battak christians assure us that heathen magicians can bewitch the footprints of an unknown thief. The thief would then become a leper or die.

[3] The Washamba in East Africa, like many uncivilised men, are afraid of the photographer. They think the missionary, in taking their photograph,

A man's name is closely connected with his soul. It is therefore holy, and should not be named except when necessary. No one should utter his own name, or that of his parents. If one knows the name of any one, he thereby obtains a certain power over him. Very important is the right name, which must be adequate to the soul. The name of a sick person is sometimes changed, in the hope that the escaped soul may return, attracted by the better name. If any one increases in riches or honour he adopts a new name, conformable to his changed condition, on which occasion a great feast is held.[1] It is very important that children should get the right name, and it is the duty of the magic priest to put them on the right scent. The names of betrothed persons must also match. Sometimes hateful names are given to children to make the envious spirits believe that the children are inferior. Names of dangerous animals, like tigers and crocodiles, are not expressed, but are euphemistically paraphrased—Tiger, Prince of the forest.

In dreams the soul leaves the man and wanders about, actually experiencing the things dreamed of. Hence dreams as realities are highly valued, and so are the interpretation of dreams. The soul of the sleeper in his dream is having

robs them of their shadow, and therewith of their soul, which he sends to Europe to serve the white man, and the owner of the lost shadow must die. In the pictures of their relatives which the missionaries had hung up in their rooms the Washamba saw the shadows, *i.e.* the souls of these relatives. They thought the missionaries had brought their relatives with them, and that at night the pictures became alive and conversed with the white men. Hence they were afraid to be alone in the missionary's room; the pictures might become alive and get loose on them. The Ewe imagine the soul of man to be visible in his shadow. The Papuans also see in the shadow the soul of the man becoming visible.

[1] In every important event the Battaks feel the need of adopting a new name which will do justice to the new situation. If a child is born into a family which resembles some dead member of the family they say the dead man has reappeared in the child, and the name of the dead man is therefore given to the child. If an infant cries much, that is a sign that it has not got the right name. The Ewe have similar views about names. The fear of names, as of the soul in some sort become audible, is found among all the peoples of Indonesia, even among the Papuans.

intercourse with the dead, especially with his ancestors.[1] Nothing is undertaken except they dream of it beforehand. The character of the expected child is announced by dreams to the parents, for the soul of the child in its mother's womb has intercourse with the mother's soul. Mutual dreams must show whether the souls of betrothed persons agree. A dream precedes the inspection of the intended. The matchmaker produces dreams respecting the chosen one by hiding under the lover's pillow some of her hair, or a girdle, or something which has been in contact with her, and so received something of her soul-stuff.[2] The watchers of a corpse must not sleep, else their souls wandering about in dreams may easily be enticed away by the spirit of the dead, which is near at hand. If the soul is frightened in a dream it remains in the place where it was startled, and the man becomes ill and dies. It is therefore strictly forbidden to waken a sleeper roughly, or to frighten him. One must not step over a sleeper, for the soul might be on the point of returning, and would then be scared away.

The soul does not hesitate to leave men if anything displeases it, for it does not essentially belong to them, and has no interest in the maintenance of its temporary dwelling. Hence caution must be used in chastising children. Give them rather their own way, lest the sensitive little souls leave them and they die. The soul in the shape of an animal, a mouse, a lizard, etc., escapes by the nose, the ears, the mouth, or by any opening, often to the terror of an involuntary spectator.

The destiny of human souls is fixed before birth. Those destined for men are, before their time on earth, collected by Batara Guru or Mula djadi in the upper world. There a great tree grows with many leaves on which the different destinies

[1] The Niassers, and all peoples of the Indian Archipelago, have the same notions about dreams. It is so with the Papuans and with the Karens. The Ewe also believe that the soul leaves man in sleep and wanders about. A dream is to them an experience of a real event. The soul in the dream is having intercourse with the shadows of the dead.

[2] Among the Niassers the bride-seeker only ventures to come forward with his proposal after a favourable dream.

of men are inscribed. The soul is then allowed to pluck off its lot-determining leaf. The subject is presented in a different garb in different legends, but they all agree in this, that man himself chooses his own fate, and that this is irreversibly fixed.[1] This fatalism dominates the thought of the Battaks, fetters their will, and kills all energy. They bow with calm resignation to the blows of fate, which are fore-ordained and unalterable, which even throw their shadows on the life after death, for that is only a continuation of the lot chosen for earth. Man is not responsible for his disposition or his actions, for these are determined for him. A change of mind can only take place if that has been foreseen in his destined lot. This determinism, however much it agrees with Mohammedan fatalism, is not an imported article, but an original possession of heathenism. It is found among heathen peoples who have never had any sympathy with Islam. The probability is that Islam has taken over fatalism and many other ideas from heathenism. No doubt the propaganda of Islam finds in this kindred conviction of the Animist an advantage that is not to be undervalued. The Battak calls his destiny "that which his soul has asked for." On it depends man's well-being. The question is whether the soul will accept the good that comes to it. If any one loses a lucky chance he says, "my soul has not accepted it." If things go well with him he has to thank his soul for it. The wishes of a person by no means always agree with those of his soul, but where they differ it is the wish of the soul that is realised, for against it man is powerless. The soul is a power outside and above man, though not identical with fate, against which his attitude is mostly submissive though sometimes defiant.

Whilst the soul is represented as life stuff that stuff is also ascribed to animals and plants. Soul stuff is certainly not so abundant in animals as in man. Animals and plants are a lower grade of animated life. Many animals are supposed

[1] See J. Warneck, A.M.Z., 1904, p. 4, f., for some of the legends that deal with this point. There are similar legends among the people of Nias. More will be said on this subject later.

to have descended from man, the apes for example, and conversely men from animals. Women bring forth animals, such as lizards and serpents. Men sometimes get the form of an animal whose flesh they have eaten. Ancestors sometimes appear in the shape of animals. According to animistic notions men and animals are not far apart. Hence the number of fables current among the Battaks in which animals appear speaking, thinking, moralising, and associating with men as their equals.

Those plants also which are most useful to men contain soul stuff. The dracæna is used everywhere in the Indian Archipelago for purposes, of worship because it is supposed to be strongly animated. A personal soul is ascribed to rice. It is treated with indulgence as a living being, and definite rites and prohibitions are anxiously observed in planting, weeding, reaping, treading out, beating, cooking and eating it, that its soul may not escape, and it becomes powerless and unfit for sustenance. The cocoa nut tree and the sugar palm contain soul stuff. The latter is said to have grown from the body of a woman, and its palm wine is her mother's milk, or, according to another account, her tears. In searching for camphor they use a secret speech to deceive the soul of the camphor tree. The souls of such useful plants are worshipped.[1]

Objects also which are of value to men are thought to be animated, for their usefulness leads to the inference that they possess soul stuff. Soul is awarded to the house, the hearth, the boat, the hatchet, the iron, and many other instruments, not because they are fetiches, but because their usefulness is proof of their soul power. Among the Mentawey islanders every object has its soul (Regat). When a tumble-down house fell in, the blame was not supposed to be the laziness of the owner neglecting to repair it, but the soul of the house had fled and must be solemnly brought back.[2]

[1] When a Kamba desires to get wood from a tree for medicine he prays thus to the soul of the tree: O tree, I come to thee to ask a gift. I have a sick friend and know not what has made him sick. I come hither to thee, O tree, that I may get something with which to treat him that he may be healed.

[2] Among the Ewe, the weaver prays to his loom, the huntsman to his gun,

The souls of men, animals, plants, and even those of lifeless things influence one another. One can augment or invigorate one's own soul stuff through that of others, and can also partly or entirely lose it to another soul owner.

The life of the body is entirely dependent on the greater or less amount of its soul stuff. The important thing in eating and drinking is not so much the matter of the food as its soul stuff, for this alone gives health and strength to the eater. No animistic heathen, therefore, expects the gods, or spirits, to consume the material of the food which he places before them as an offering, but only its soul stuff. The matter that remains is deprived of its power of nourishment, and consequently is of no value to men. The flesh of an animal that is eaten produces an effect on man corresponding to the qualities of the animal in question. A dog is lively and courageous, and therefore the eating of dogs' flesh must produce liveliness and courage. The flesh of a stag gives nimbleness. Gamecocks are made to devour centipeds in order to assimilate their fierceness. Javanese thieves carry with them crow bones to be as clever at stealing as crows. The numerous prohibitions as to food in sickness are rooted in this idea. Certain foods in some circumstances drive the soul out of the body, and these must be avoided When heathen people come to the missionary for medicine they never fail to ask what food the sick man is forbidden to take. For the missionary, who is regarded as a magician, must know the kind of food to which the soul has an aversion at the time. The food that a pregnant woman desires, however absurd it be, must be given her, for the soul of the child requires it for its growth. If anyone has been bitten by a poisonous animal, the animal is killed and its flesh eaten by him who was bitten in order to make the bite harmless, for the soul of the poisonous animal, which is thereby appropriated, is immune against its own poison. Conversely, the soul stuff contained in human hair has the power of promoting the growth of trees and of useful plants.

the smith to his hammer and anvil, the joiner to his saw and plane. The Karens ascribe a soul to most things, to rice for example.

This notion throws light on the enigmatic custom of cannibalism, which we meet with in India, among the Battaks, Dayaks, Alfurus, Papuans and on the Bismarck Archipelago. It is not, at least originally, an act of foaming revenge and does not even spring from a perversion of taste. On the contrary, it is supposed that in eating a man's flesh the eater appropriates the other's soul, his vital power, and this is most effectively done while the victim is alive, for if the body be cold the soul has fled.[1] The liver, the palms of the hands, the sinews and the flesh of the head are eaten by preference, for these are the parts of the body in which the soul stuff is supposed to be specially concentrated. It is assumed that an enemy wounded in battle or a great criminal, such as an adulterer—these are devoured—must be a man of power and daring, whose soul stuff is therefore of value to warriors. He who eats the palms of the hand obtains strength of hand, etc. The habit of drinking blood is widespread, and should be judged in precisely the same way as cannibalism,[2] for the soul stuff has special vigour in the blood. Among many peoples the blood of an enemy just slain is drunk.

There are also objects which, in themselves, have no soul matter, but, for some reason, have such matter ascribed to them. Some peculiarly formed root, or some wonderful stone, is seen, and its striking shape is supposed to indicate an indwelling soul power. That makes the object of great value to the Animist, for he can use it for his own good, viz., for the strengthening of his own soul power. Such objects may be called fetiches. Idols as fetiches are unknown to the Indonesian. Wherever we come upon stone or wooden images, protective or ancestor images, they have religious value only so far as they are artificially supplied

[1] No one among the Battaks enjoys the eating of human flesh. On the contrary, the cannibals have often to fight with nausea, and they are in the habit of mixing the human with other flesh.

[2] In Toba we were told that a chief cut open the breast of a captured enemy, tore out the quivering heart and drank the warm blood—not certainly for its pleasant taste, though the satisfaction of revenge may have had a place there.

with soul stuff. But an object thus supplied with soul is not worshipped, for it is not the abode of a deity or an ancestor. It is, however, attended to, fed and smeared with blood or rice, that the soul stuff dwelling in it may not be diminished, but may always retain its utility to its possessor. Thunderbolts, marvellous pieces of metal, stalactites, and such like things, are reputed to have special soul stuff, and are used as fetiches. In this sense amulets are fetiches. They are mostly stones, scraps of lead, and things of extraordinary formation; these are carried about, and credited with the power of increasing their possessor's soul stuff, and protecting him against evil spirits.[1]

The souls of men have a mutual relation to each other. The influence which one person exerts on another must be traced to their mysterious soul powers. The soul of the mother must watch over that of the child that is in her womb. If an abortion takes place the soul of the mother has failed in its duty, and the soul of the child has flown away while it was inattentive. The woman was perhaps much depressed, and, in her grief, her soul neglected to watch over the soul of the child. The consequence is, an untimely birth, that is, the soul of the unguarded child has escaped. If a woman dies in giving birth to a child, it is a sign that the soul of the mother refuses to accept a child. This, therefore, is a death that is regarded as extremely disgraceful. The corpse of the woman is thrown beneath the house and there buried, after its eyes, ears and mouth have been stuffed with ashes. If any misfortune happens to the child the blame is again laid on the soul of the mother. If a child becomes ill, an offering is brought to the soul of the mother that it may not abandon the soul of the child. The souls also of relatives, on the mother's side, have great influence on the soul of the child, and must

[1] The Battaks call everything that impresses them by its strangeness, greatness, or mysterious power "grandfather," a burning glass, for example, whose powers they do not understand, a watch, and the like. Happy is the possessor of such a wonderful object for the soul power it reveals may be of the greatest service to him.

be conciliated with offerings and presents. The souls of parents all through life exercise an influence on those of their children, and *vice versa*. In congratulations there is a standing phrase seriously meant, "May our souls rule one another," that is, act as guardian spirits to one another. On a higher stage the prayer is, "May thy soul rule me," that is, influence me favourably.

In the selection of a bride it is exceedingly important that the soul of the wooer match with that of his elect, a harmony of souls which has nothing in common with what we understand by the phrase. It does not mean love, but that the soul matter of the two parties match.[1] Matter must unite with matter, as in a chemical union. The surest sign of a harmonious marriage is offspring. If married people have no children, they should, nay, must separate, or the man must take a second wife, whose soul matches better with his. The magic priest can know beforehand whether the souls of bride and bridegroom match with one another. It is also revealed by dreams and omens.[2]

The soul of a chief exercises a dreaded influence on his subjects, for it can give them happiness or unhappiness. His power proves that he has much and strong soul stuff, and therefore can be dangerous. In a law court it is not so much the judicial authority as the soul of the judge, that is feared. The Battak priest King Singamang aradja, has most soul, and is therefore superstitiously feared. His commands regarding worship are absolutely obeyed. In war it is a man's own soul or that of his kindred that protects him from wounds or death or drives him on to death. If a bullet flies close past a warrior he says, "My soul has turned the bullet out of its course." The soul powers of an enemy are more to be feared than his weapons, for through his magic arts he can draw the soul to his side and so annihilate its owner. When one of two people, who are ill at the same time, dies, and the

[1] The Ewe thus express it. The man must take that woman who was already united with him in the pre-existent state, or the marriage will be unhappy.

[2] *Cf.* p. 47.

other recovers, the soul of the latter is supposed to have overcome the soul of the former. The pupil of a magician has no need to fear the rod, but does need to fear the soul of his teacher.

The human soul can be decoyed away by other souls, and the souls of children are specially sensitive and difficult to preserve. No one must visit the parents of a recently born child without bringing a present for the child's soul. Magicians can entice away souls and draw the soul of a thief to them. They can also incline the soul of a virgin to that of a youth. Many can win the soul of a woman by love potions, or by playing on the flute. The spirits of the dead are more capable than the living of drawing souls to themselves.

Friendships and covenants are ratified by a mutual drinking of blood, or by the parties mixing some drops of their own blood in order that their souls may be blended. The same thing is done in treaties of peace. The same consideration makes one like to be spat upon by people who are accounted fortunate. Poor people appropriate the chewed betel leaves of great chiefs and gulp them down in order to bring something of their glory to their own souls. People who are clever at speaking are entreated to spit into one's mouth. Sick people are breathed upon by the healthy in order to bring them healthy soul stuff (breath magic). For the breath also contains soul. Parents, on Nias, catch with their mouth the last breath of their dying child. Women in child-bed are breathed upon in order to help the birth. But anyone who comes in contact with a sick person may have the sickness transferred to himself, if his soul accepts it, in which case the sick person recovers.

When we remember that that the Animist regards the soul as a separate entity in man, independent of him, capricious and often in conflict with him, and at all times a danger to him, we can easily understand, that though it is matter, it is an object of worship. In point of fact more careful worship is offered to the soul than to the heavenly gods. Man has to reverence his own soul as well as the souls of

other living men, especially those of his own and his wife's relations. In a difficult case of labour the soul of the child is prayed to come and a sacrifice is offered to it. Sacrifice is offered to the soul of the mother, that it may be willing to watch over the child. Sacrifices are also frequently offered to the souls of relatives that they may bring their influence to bear upon the child's soul. A man has constantly to watch over his soul for, exposed to a thousand influences, it is always tempted to leave him. The souls of the living like naughty children are fond of having to do with coffins, follow them when they are carried out, place themselves upon them and settle down at the grave. If cries and gifts should not succeed in enticing them away, the man to whom they belong will die. Many cases of disease are explained by saying that the soul of the man because of some sudden fright or attraction of a spirit has left him, and needs to be brought back.

A solemn procession is made to the place to which the priest conjectures the soul has been carried. In front marches a virgin carrying on her head a tray with cooked rice and eggs, as an offering to the spirits who have captured the soul. Then follows the priest, and behind him the nearest relations of the sick man. These must not look behind neither to the right nor the left, nor speak a word, while all who meet the procession must get out of its way. After the sacrifice has been laid on a little altar in the open field the priest entreats and conjures the soul of the sick man to return. He promises gifts and presents, smites with a stick in all directions so as to scare away the hurtful spirits, till he is supposed to have enticed the soul back. The return journey is very carefully performed, for the recovered soul has now to be led. The relatives go in front, the magician behind them constantly entreating the soul to come with them. Meanwhile the sick man's house has been cleansed and the floor covered with mats. No one is permitted to remain near the steps of the house at the time when the expedition is expected to return, that the soul may find the way clear. When the magician leaves the house he calls

out from below, "O soul of R. R., art thou now at home?" Some one from within answers, "yes," and so the soul's return is happily accomplished. Inside the house it is again entreated and exhorted in friendly terms and with promises of beautiful garments and savoury meats to leave the body no more.[1]

Frequently there is a formal hunt for the escaped soul, when it is captured and carried in handkerchiefs to the sick man. Sometimes it is enticed with rice and with other foods. This custom of soul capture is found everywhere in the Indian Archipelago.[2] There is another means still to help the sick person to regain his soul. A human effigy scantily clothed is manufactured from a banana tree. Hair, nail cuttings, dirt scraped from the scalp of the sick man, or such like, are put in the navel of this figure to transfer something of his soul stuff to the image. That makes it the sick man's substitute. This image is carried out like a corpse to the spot where the spirit that holds the soul is supposed to be. It is there laid down, and the soul of the sick man is summoned. If some one anywhere answers the cry it is supposed that this is the answer of the soul, and that the spirit has accepted the substitute. The company return to the village joyfully, and the magician says to the sick person, "Be of good courage; protect us, we protect thee; take care of your father, your mother, and your property." A similar practice is where the effigy of a man, made of clay, is placed on a trestle, given betel, hen eggs, cooked rice, and carried out to the field. There the magician cries with a loud voice, "Take what belongs to you." The sickness is then transferred to anyone who may chance to be heard speaking at a distance. The idea in these ceremonies is that a substitute has been given. In the first case the animated effigy is an equivalent for the soul of the sick man,

[1] Among the Ewe, also, a man's sickness is produced by his soul leaving him. The priest can bring it back. Spieth, *l.c.*, p. 511.

[2] It is surprising to find this animistic custom in China also, where the escaped soul of a sick child is called back by cries and waving of handkerchiefs.

and is offered as such to the hostile spirit. In the second case the soul of the unfortunate person who accidentally makes a sound must take over the disease. The soul of the person who is ill is released by offering to the evil spirit a substitute. Hence the Battaks call these figures "body-substitute, soul-ransom."[1]

The soul is also directly addressed in prayer. Such a prayer runs: "Here, O my soul, thou hast betel, I confess that I have failed in duty towards thee." Then follows an enumeration of the faults, which for the most part consist in having given it no present for a long time past. "I bow in reverence before thee, and from this day will better my ways; and I give thee this betel as earnest money. If I am well I shall bring thee anything I have that thou desirest, savoury meats, garments, and jewels. Have compassion on me." In sudden alarms the first thing is to tranquillise one's soul, to soothe and console it, and promise it a present. Parents do the same thing with the soul of their child. They dedicate to it a fine woven garment, "the soul garment," a knife, or such like, which is henceforth cherished as a talisman. Offerings are also made to one's soul, a very solemn process in which the offerer wears his best clothes. Rice is heaped on a tray, with flesh or fish above it, and this is handed over to the soul with a present, perhaps a garment, a sword, a spear, or an ivory arm-ring. In specially critical cases they dedicate to it a house, a piece of a field, a dollar, a horse, or a hen, with which the fortune of the possessor is henceforth united. These things may be used, but must not be sold. The soul, which in the mind of the Animist has a separate existence, makes real use of these devoted objects. If anyone has an uneasy dream, he must at once bring an offering to his soul, lest it run away.

Nevertheless, when things go against a man he often curses his soul, calls it the soul of a dog, for upon it he lays the

[1] One not familiar with animistic modes of thought might think they were presuming on the stupidity of the spirits in foisting on them an image instead of a living man, but it is only an animated image that the spirits accept.

blame of his misfortune. This, however, only happens in extreme wrath, when the man has lost control of himself.

Moral feeling has no more connection with the soul than it has with belief in the gods. The soul is not the better self in man, nor the spiritual side of him. The soul neither punishes nor leaves him on account of his evil doings. It pronounces no judgment about good or evil. It is supposed, no doubt, that the soul—of a chief, for instance—may exhort another, and make him sensible of his wrong, viz., his failure to comply with the general custom, but it does not punish its owner. The soul is not an organ of morality. If parents in anger chastise their naughty child, the soul of the child becomes seriously ill, and the parents, fearing that it may run away and make the child ill, hasten to beg its pardon, and present the child with a pandjoraan, that is, a gift, as an expression of regret for their wrongdoing, and a promise of improvement for the future. It is said that man has seven souls,[1] one of which is buried with the after-birth of the child, and influences the man throughout his life. It comes to him occasionally to warn him. We might, therefore, infer that it performs the work of conscience. But its warnings do not extend to the moral region. It warns man against what may do him harm; it inspires him with courage in war. More than that it cannot do.[2]

When a man dies his soul power leaves him in order to animate other things, men, beasts, or plants. It always

[1] These seven souls, regarding which their thoughts are not quite clear, may, in all probability, represent functions and motions of the soul. The function of one of them is to watch over man, another watches over his property and descendants, a third produces valour, a fourth is the avowed opponent of the body, striving to drag it to destruction. The seven are not kept distinct in thought and soul-worship. The Karens also ascribe seven souls to man which signify different powers, mostly of an evil kind, which influence him. (Eppler, "Die Karenen," p. 63.)

[2] Kruyt maintains that the soul of man, which is buried with the placenta, represents his conscience. This soul, which has become personal, meets him in the other world as judge and judges him by the standard of the national customs. The judicial "conscience" questions the dead man about three things—was he brave, was he generous, *i.e.* had he property, did he beget children. In any case this conscience gives no judgment about good and evil. It judges according to the values that prevailed in the earthly life.

remains a power on this earth that can never be exhausted. The soul that continues to live, which must be clearly distinguished from the corporeal soul, is called begu—spirit, ghost. At first it feels very uncomfortable without a body; it searches for its old body and surroundings; it sits on its grave and terrifies the living. It likes also to settle down on certain fowls, such as the hawk. Should the cry of such a bird be heard the survivors exclaim, "Be not angry with us, we have not driven thee away, thou hast voluntarily left us."[1] For a long time it is not safe to be near the house of the dead at night, because the dead man is moving about there. From the moment of his departure the spirit of the dead is feared, as, out of ill-will, he would like to drag others with him into death. A great number of things are to be observed in connection with the corpse, with its burial, and afterwards. All their mourning customs are rooted in their fear of the dead.[2] During the first day perfect silence is enjoined lest they attract the attention of the envious soul. The head is covered with a veil; all ornaments are laid aside; as little as possible is eaten, and that only at night as the spirits do that they may seem to be like spirits themselves. For the same reason they paint themselves black, the spirits being supposed to be black.[3] The hair is cut off for an offering to the dead, *pars pro toto*.[4] It is fear that leads them to place food on the dead man's grave, to bring him his tools and coin, that his shadow may use them in the other world and be content.[5] The inhabitants of many islands sacrifice some one, preferably a slave, at the grave in order that they themselves may be spared.[6] The impelling motive is always fear, not

[1] Among the Ewe the survivors assure the dead man that they are not to blame for his death.

[2] This is the case even among the Basutos in Africa.

[3] This holds good of the Papuans also.

[4] This custom prevails in Madagascar. At the death of King Radama all his subjects had to shave their heads. Every ornament was forbidden, all work stopped, play and dancing prohibited.

[5] The Papuans also supply the dead with food and tobacco. They usually destroy the belongings of the dead. Here and there the widow is strangled that she may accompany her husband to the other world.

[6] The bloody human sacrifice has been recently replaced among the Toradja,

grief nor piety. To prevent the soul of the dead from returning to the living, thorns are laid upon the corpse, which is firmly bound, its thumbs and toes tied together, ashes put in its eyes, an egg placed in its armpits, all with the view of making it incapable of movement.[1] Separation from the dead is thus symbolically indicated. A piece of rotang is divided, one-half of which is kept by the living and the other placed in the coffin, which signifies that all intercourse is now at an end. The funeral company on departing step over the coffin or creep under it.[2] As soon as the coffin is brought into the house the body is placed in it, and the lid fastened down, else the soul of some living person might slip into it. Meanwhile every one who can turns himself round lest his soul might be tempted to follow the dead. For the same reason no one cares to be near the grave. They spit behind the coffin and bathe after the funeral. They bury the dead where he cannot see his village.[3] Only widowers are allowed to bury a widower; only parents who have lost children can carry the coffin of a child. The coffin is not carried out by the door in the usual way, for the soul must be deceived.[4] Coffin and grave are made as narrow as possible to prevent the soul from taking others with it. If a man is not buried at home his soul has no rest, and therefore the corpse of him who has died among strangers must, if at all possible, be

for example, by making a slave family dwell a long time at the grave, and during that period treating them as souls of the dead. (Kruyt, "Animisme," p. 285 ff.)

[1] The Basutos cut the sinews of the dead and bind them with thongs. They have also human sacrifices. Those killed are to serve as pillows for the dead in the other world. Among many peoples the backbone of the dead is broken.

[2] The bush negroes of Suriname measure off their height with a tape and put it in the coffin or the grave, else they do not feel safe from the spirit of the dead.

[3] In the funeral rites of the Ewe the belongings of the dead are torn up and scattered on the path to turn back his soul if it should seek to visit the living (Spieth, p. 634). Things which the dead were fond of must be laid in his grave, otherwise his spirit will demand them. If his belongings are given him he will go quietly to the underworld.

[4] In Nias a new path is made through the thicket by which the corpse is carried forth. The soul must not find its way back to the village.

brought home. The head at least must be buried at home.[1] The soul remains in union with the body till the flesh has rotted; and only after a great feast has been arranged does it pass into the kingdom of the dead. The way thither is full of adventure and danger; there the soul is received by a guardian of the dead. It must at the last cross a sea or river. That is why among many primitive peoples the coffin is made in the form of a boat or a canoe. And it is only after the great feast has been held, before which the corpse is supposed to be only provisionally buried, after the spirit has passed into the kingdom of the dead, that they feel safe, and mourning ceases.

The kingdom of the dead is supposed to be under the earth or in dismal places. The life there is a reflection of the earthly life. He who dies a chief is there a chief; slaves remain slaves, and the magician continues to carry on his trade. The dead do business like men, they arrange council meetings, play at cards and dice, wage war and celebrate festivals; they have wives and children, fields and cattle. They dwell with one another in families.[2] The more descendants anyone has on earth the better does he fare in the kingdom of the dead. If one has died a poor man his importance there may be increased if his descendants here grow in wealth and honour. The position of the dead is, therefore, dependent on the fortune and conduct of their descendants. When men are celebrating a festival great flocks of spirits are present as unseen envious spectators. The vices, passions, and sufferings of the living disquiet also the inhabitants of the kingdom of the dead. The life and pursuits of spirits go on at night time. There are old legends which tell how men succeeded in finding their way to the underworld and what

[1] Among the Bush negroes of Suriname part of the hair at least must be cut from the head of anyone dying abroad and be buried at home. The hair of all dead Ancans must be buried under a tree in the village of the tribe where the original ancestor was supposed to reside.

[2] The kingdom of the dead is pictured in the same way by the Niassers and the Papuans. The whole essay on what the Papuans say about soul and spirits proves that the Animism of the Papuans is the same as that of the Malay Indonesian.

they saw there. There are also legends which have some kind of presentiment of retribution in that life. People who in this life would not be advised there act like perfect fools; men who went about with plans of murder continue to think of murder; gamblers evermore taste the bitterness of play; gossips get a long tongue, and every one holds up before the eyes of the thief the objects he had stolen. Yet these are only isolated legends, and in the beliefs of the people there is no living idea of retribution after death.[1]

Men who die of shameful diseases, such as leprosy and cholera, become slaves in the kingdom of the dead.[2] Suicide is regarded as most shameful, for it proves that the soul no longer desires to preserve the body, and a sad lot awaits the suicide in the kingdom of the dead. Shameful in the highest degree it is to die in child-bed, to die childless, or to meet any sudden or violent death. A very humble position is the certain lot of such in the other world.[3]

The Battaks divide the souls of the dead into three classes: (1) Begu, souls of the dead in general; some of these are good-natured and in certain circumstances well disposed towards their descendants, some of them are bad. They are all more or less to be feared. (2) Some of the Begu, in course of time, if they have many descendants who show them due honour, become higher spirits, gaining a distinguished position in the kingdom of the dead. These are called Summagot. (3) Higher than these are the Sombaon, the most eminent of the ancestors, founders of great communities; these must have at

[1] It is the same with the the Niassers (Sudermann, "Nias," p. 72 f.).

[2] Nothing makes a greater impression on the lepers who are under the care of the missionaries, or native Christians, than the assurance that in the other world they shall cease to be outcast pariahs.

[3] The Ewe believe that people who have died "an evil death"—by violence or in a shameful way—have a special place in the kingdom of the dead, where, stained with blood, they find no rest. They are buried with contempt. Among the Niassers the earth reckons with every one before allowing them to go further towards the underworld. Anyone who has done evil, who, for example, has left no descendants, is stifled in the grave by the earth. At a later time souls must pass over a bridge as narrow as the edge of a knife. Only those succeed in crossing who have never ill-treated a cat and who have male descendants.

least seven generations. These ancestors are solemnly invested with this dignity by a great feast. They are thought to dwell in some grotesque part of the earth, in some old tree, on a high mountain, in a cavern, or in a sulphurous spring. All nature is peopled with them. They blend into the nature deities from whom it is often difficult to distinguish them. The worship of terrifying natural phenomena seems to have gradually passed into a worship of these earliest ancestors.

But for all that it must not be said that the Battaks believe in the immortality of the soul. The shadowy life of the soul gradually ceases. It is not explicitly said that the Begu die, but in course of years they are allowed to vanish.[1] As soon as the memory of a dead person dies away, which in the case of an ordinary man is very soon, and in the case of the most renowned ancestor is not more than ten generations, his existence in the kingdom of souls ceases. According to animistic thought man is immortal only in his descendants; he lives on in his family. They inherit his belongings, he enjoys what they have. Happy is he whose descendants are many. It is not the individual who is immortal; it is the family as long as it does not become extinct. The individual goes willingly the way of all flesh provided he has sons to propagate his race. He only who has no sons really dies. To the Animist that is a bitter sorrow. Daughters do not count, for they are lost to the family by marrying into another stock and thereby getting other ancestors. They are of no value, because they can offer no worship to the spirits, so in that way are of no use to the dead.

The worship of spirits is reared on the basis of Animism. The real kernel and centre of the religions of the Indian

[1] The Niassers say: Man dies nine times in the underworld, each time after as long a period as he had lived here, and at length he becomes quite black. Many become animals. The Olongadju Dayaks say: Man dies seven times in the other world and is then reborn on earth to die again, and so on without end. That would be a kind of transmigration of souls of which we find no trace elsewhere in Indonesia. The Toradjans believe that souls die seven times in the kingdom of the dead and are then definitely dead when they take the form of stalactites. The Papuans think that man dies a second time in the other world, and then all is over with him.

Archipelago is this, and in comparison therewith the worship of the gods has almost completely disappeared. The worship of spirits has to do with demons and ancestors, yet the boundary between ancestors and nature demons must not be rigidly fixed.[1] The worship of ancestors has almost entirely appropriated the cult of demons. For the spirits of the dead in their malicious doings are scarcely distinguishable from the demons.

Two things must be kept in view in ancestor worship. On the one hand, the dead are expected to bless the living, that is, those with whom they were related by helping them to obtain riches and descendants and by keeping away from them, sickness, failure of crops and murrain of cattle, in short, they are invested with divine attributes and functions. But, on the other hand, the position of the dead is, in the most melancholy way, dependent on the behaviour and condition of their descendants. They are fairly comfortable in the kingdom of the dead only so far as their survivors honour them and are themselves of some consequence. The dead man is entirely dependent on the consideration and social position of the living. Hence the Animist knows of no greater misfortune than to die without descendants, for such an one has nobody who feels bound to serve and honour him after his death. The dead demands, with the instinct of self-preservation, that the living honour him ; and he compels them to do so by afflicting them. Ancestors are honoured because one's own well-being is dependent on them. But even those spirits, who can make no claim to the worship of descendants, compel men to offer them sacrifices, for they, too, have power to torment the living. The worship of ancestors is rooted not in piety, but in fear. A living old father or grandfather is often abominably treated, for there is nothing to be hoped or feared from him. But as soon as he is dead the situation is changed. The prudent descendants bewail him with many tears and marks of sorrow ; they provide for

[1] The Christian Battaks at once use Begu, that is spirits of the dead, for the demons of the Bible. Everything demoniac presents itself to them in this dreaded form. They call nature demons, and recently the devil, Begu.

him pompous funeral obsequies; they adorn his grave with great taste; they offer sacrifices that are often beyond their power, and finally they set him among the heroes.

Moral background is here entirely wanting. The dead are desired not only to leave the living in peace, but to bless their families. In return for this service the soul of the departed claims not only reverence and loving remembrance, but also sacrifices and festivals. In honouring his ancestors a man serves himself. The world may not praise his piety, but it does praise the riches that have enabled him to provide such a brilliant festival. The ancestor festival has often the secondary end of displaying the opulence of its giver. The living father cares little whether he be considerately treated, if only he receive after death that honour, which gives him distinction in the kingdom of the dead. That leads, among the Animists as everywhere else, to the defrauding of the poor, for they can offer nothing considerable to their ancestors. Hence we can easily understand how the mind of the Battak should be set on riches. How he gets them is of no consequence. Honesty will guarantee him no higher position in the other world, while baseness and vulgarity are not there deemed disgraceful.

In spirit worship the main end is in any pressing misfortune to secure the best possible issue. Attempts are made by magic to force the spirits into man's service; they are deceived, fought against, and, when that is impossible, fled from. Men humble themselves in presence of their mysterious power, but try to make as much capital as they can out of the situation.

The spirits of the newly dead must be specially shunned; they are soothed by lamentations, which, in some cases, may spring from genuine grief, but which, for the most part, are recited from fear and custom. They are means employed to show the departed soul how dearly it was loved. The Battaks have a special dialect for lamentations sung at the grave. It differs from the ordinary idiom in that the names of all things are paraphrased. That is manifestly caused less by poetic taste than by fear, fear lest the begu may

obtain power over the things and persons if called by their right names.[1]

The dead are feared for a double reason; first, because they seek to drag the living with them to the kingdom of the dead, even their nearest and dearest relations; and, second, because the ancestors are viewed as the guardians of inherited custom. Anything that has become custom is

[1] The same superstition demands that, in war, in sickness, and in the search for camphor, things should be designated by a paraphrase, partly misleading, lest the soul be endangered. As an illustration, take the following lament of the widow of a chief for her husband:—

Ah! my consort, thou hast left me, my prince,
Me, a rice pod (*i.e.* solitary).
A butting cow am I, a butting buffalo
Without a mate.
The consort I mean who was taken from me,
Now am I poor, I who had a consort.
My father (*i.e.* husband), the great, the illustrious,
Whose walk was noble, who easily demolishes Mount Si—
Manabun, who rose in strength (like the sun)
And perished grievously.
My father was called in the evening (to the council meeting),
In the morning he was sent for.
A bear on the street, a tiger in the gate.
Now art thou overthrown, father, prince,
My husband.
Oh, my father! who had bones that grew not weary,
Fingers that did not rest.
I cannot sufficiently bewail my husband,
My father, who was kind to every one.
I must think of him when I look upwards,
When I remember how thou wentest to market,
Where business flourisheth.
I can no longer see distinctly for the flow of my tears
When I remember the great misery which is in my body,
That I am without a husband!

LAMENT OF A MOTHER FOR HER DEAD SON

O! my descendant, do not yet attempt to leave me,
A rice pod. I will go into the earth in thy place.
My father (that is, son) must still live,
Live in this world.
If thou shouldest die,
Ah! then I am as a hen whom one has made to fly,

regarded as right, and offences against traditional custom are sins. Wrong is avoided only so far as there is fear of the ancestors avenging the wrong. The vengeance, however, would not fall on the individual, but on the whole tribe. The ancestors, in the other world, are interested in the life of their descendants, and continue in some sort to live with them, though the earthly life alone is *vita vitalis*, and the other only a sad apparent existence. They are always jealously on the watch to see whether their descendants are as punctilious as they were in their day, and woe to them if they have permitted innovations. Through fear of his forefathers the Animist is conservative to the bone.[1] Great chiefs who have won outstanding merit in connection with the politics and life of the tribe, also the founder of a village, are regarded as specially sacred. They watch with keen eyes the doings of their descendants. Besides these, there are legions of wicked demons, spirits of the dead, who are not ancestors, but who, on account of their malice, compel a craven worship. Among these are the dead who had no sons; the souls also of those who died of hunger, leprosy, or cholera; the souls of the very poor; the souls of those whose corpse had shrunk after death. All these are specially dangerous to women in preg-

> As a horse which one has let loose.
> My descendant will leave me.
> Me, an untimely birth,
> Which I like a hot pot cannot hold;
> Like iron smithy work which will not hold together.
> Yes, it drags me upward, it throws me down like a lid,
> When I remember thy voice which could not yet speak,
> Which answered to the words of his mother only.
> I must drown myself if thou diest,
> Drown myself in the river Si Tumallam
> If thou art thrown into the deep,
> Into the deep abyss, from which one cannot clamber up.
> I will undertake to make a twisted rope
> The way to death.

[1] The state of matters in conservative China, the classic land of ancestor worship, is probably the same. It may be hoped that China, now that she has broken with her painfully guarded tradition, will also get rid of her ancestor worship. By giving up the custom she has actually given notice to the ancestors of her purpose to obey them no longer.

nancy and in child-bed.[1] Many diseases are traced back to their influence. Because no one among the living voluntarily honours them, they make themselves to be remembered by setting traps for men. The soul of a suicide is dangerous, and still more that of a woman who has died in giving birth to a child. In their malice they scheme to ruin other women, and procure for them the same lot.[2]

Earth, air, and water are supposed to be peopled with spirits. They are most numerous in the forest and the waste fields, where they lie in wait for the living, and afflict them with disease and madness, or drag them away to an awful death. They prowl round the houses at night, they spy through the crevices of the partitions, or come into the house in the form of some man or beast. Sometimes in epidemics they can even be seen. There are men who have the spiritual gift of being able to see spirits and souls. Sometimes these men see the spirit of the dead stepping behind the coffin and perching the soul of a living man upon it—the inevitable result of which is, that the man must die. The number of dangerous spirits, to which human misery is traced back, is legion. Names are given and attributes ascribed to spirits of particularly bad repute, such as the spirit who causes cholera : he is of a terrific size, and carries a mighty club with which he smites his victim to the earth.

These spirits have no relation of dependence on God. Belief in God, or gods, and belief in demons belong to entirely separate domains. The good-natured God has no power to restrain the mischief of the spirits, and is never besought to do so. The ancestors alone can help in this conflict.[3] We have here an unsettled dualism of religious thought. Convinced of the goodness of God, the Animist, seeking for an explanation of the evil and misery of the world, misguided by the mysterious darkness and horror with which death is surrounded, has been led by his Animism to the spirits of the

[1] Among the Papuans also the souls of those who die a violent death are specially feared. They lay snares everywhere for living men. The same thing is found among the Karens.

[2] The same idea is found among the Kols.

[3] The Ewe certainly expect help from God against evil spirits.

dead. But these creatures of a fancy inspired by fear have gradually overshadowed the Creator. The fear of sinister beings, daily nourished by human misery, has for religious feeling borne down the idea of God. Wurm, in his summing up of the animistic religions, confirms this. He says: "This one God, in whom all peoples believe, is thought of as a good God, but without control of the evil spirits that can injure man, so that men need not apply to Him for deliverance from these spirits, but must work out deliverance for themselves. Hence few sacrifices, or none, are offered to this one God."[1] Wurm also says of the coast tribes of the Cameroons: "No evil that falls on man comes from Loba (God); it is caused by evil spirits or magicians. Having nothing to fear from Loba, they gradually forgot Him, and the purer knowledge of God was obscured."[2]

We stand here at the centre of animistic religion, viz., spiritism. How are the spirits, that is, mostly the ancestors, honoured? Men live in communion with them. No important matter is undertaken without first consulting them. Before and after a journey, a military expedition, or the laying out of a village, they are consulted and presented with gifts. The consciousness of being always dependent upon them makes men endeavour to keep them in good humour. That is done by offerings, mostly offerings of food. The spirits, who would fare ill in the other world without human help, demand from the living means of subsistence, the soul of which (shadow, exhalation) they consume. It is the business of the magic priest to determine who is to receive an offering, and what it must be, in each particular case; for he, in virtue of his science, can hold intercourse with the spirits, in dreams, for example, or by oracles (inspection of fowls). A tradition has been formed as to what each begu must get. Some receive bananas and siri-leaves, others flesh, eggs, or fish. Since the sacrifice to spirits forms the centre of their religion, the heathen are called by Christians and Mohammedans "sacrificers to spirits"—a designation which they also give themselves.

[1] P. Wurm, "Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte," p. 94.
[2] P. Wurm, "Die Religion der Küstenstamme in Kamerun," p. 34.

In return for this service the ordinary spirits are expected to exempt the "liberal" dispenser from their evil attentions. But the family ancestors, who share in all the interests of the life of their descendants, are expected to do more, viz., all that one would ask from God, and in rare cases does ask. They are to confer upon their grandchildren the blessings that seem most desirable to a Battak's heart—descendants, money and goods, flocks of cattle, fruits of the field, and health. In cases of illness they are to arrest the disease, to find a way of escape from every distress, and chase away all evil spirits.[1] Since they have power to inflict evil on their descendants, the report of the magician who, in virtue of his magic, is closely connected with them, or that of the medium, regarding the wishes of the dead is absolutely believed and in every case complied with, even though it lead to debt and poverty, for, as the proverb says, "It is better to be in debt to men than to spirits." Spirit worship costs the Battaks much money, and many a head of cattle, which they give without a murmur.

Ancestors are worshipped through media. The coffin and the grave are specially adapted thereto, for the soul loves the body as long as any fragments of it exist, and likes to dwell at the grave, especially during the first days after death. Hence offerings are laid down freely on the grave. Again, objects which the dead man possessed, parts of his body also, are very effective media, for something of the soul power which once animated him still adheres to them. The soul of the dead likes to return to its bones. Bones, and especially the skull of the dead,[2] which contains soul matter in an eminent degree (the jaw bone among the Papuans), are favourite media for intercourse with the spirits. The skulls of ancestors are carefully preserved, for they give one the power of summoning their former owners. The place where the skeleton, or even the skull, is buried is a kind of temple

[1] No one can say whether ancestors, in virtue of their higher position in the spirit kingdom, or in consequence of special mysterious forces, have power over the spirits of sickness.

[2] Hence the widespread reverence for the skull means reverence for the ancestors through mediation of the skull.

for the spiritist cult. Even hair, nails, pieces of clothing, all the things already mentioned as informed with the souls of the dead, are valuable as media. Over the whole Indian Archipelago certain heirlooms (pusaka) are held sacred, because they are supposed to contain soul matter of the ancestors. No native parts with these valuables. Images of ancestors are also media of intercourse with spirits, though they must first be artificially made so. We meet with such media in Nias and among the Papuans, in Kaiser Williams Land and Dutch New Guinea. A carved or chiselled image, in itself, has no value for the cultus, and must first be artificially made the dwelling-place of an ancestor. The Niasser priest calls on the soul of the dead, and invites it to dwell in the image. Thereupon one waits at the grave till a certain little spider (momoko) shows itself, which is caught and placed on the image of the ancestor. In the little spider they see the embodiment of the soul of the ancestor in question. The image is only fit to be a medium of intercourse when this has been annexed to it. The Papuans also manufacture carved figures in which the spirits of the forefathers take up their abode. These images of ancestors are set amid the worshipping multitude at sacrificial feasts, and food placed in their arms.

The soul of the dead may also settle on a living man as a medium (Shamanism). Here we have to do with an enigmatic form of spiritism which hardly yields itself to psychological analysis.[1] According to reliable statements of intelligent Battak Christians who were eye and ear witnesses and partly media themselves, such an event is enacted as follows. The relatives or families of the tribe are gathered together on the village street, preferably at night, in order to consult the ancestor. The drums begin to beat their muffled monotone. The medium, man or woman (sibao, hassandaran), who, however, is never the magic priest, sits quietly

[1] There is another form of possession which is irregular and outside the cultus. Some one during the visions of possession becomes seriously ill, and is often like a madman. The Battaks clearly distinguish this possession from insanity.

inhaling the narcotic smoke of the incense. Soon he rises, and to the beat of the drums begins a dance. This dance consists of convulsive movements of the hands and feet; it grows more and more lively, and ends in convulsive leaps, the dancer breaking down exhausted. He has now become a new man, and sees the spirit in question coming to him in its earlier human form. He is no longer sensible of his own body; his feeling and thought are those of the dead. The men around him seem to him small, red in colour; he feels giddy. In his exhaustion palm wine and betel are given to him. Frenziedly he swallows often handfuls of the sharpest pepper. Before asking counsel of the spirit that appears in him the medium is tested as to whether the spirit who is summoned is really speaking through him or whether he is feigning it. The relatives inquire about family secrets, about far away members of the family, and about circumstances known only to the nearest survivors. Should the possessed person approve himself by fitting answers the reason why he has been called is stated, and he is asked why he is angry, and what must be done to avert the calamity. The demands of the dead, whatever they are, must be met. Spirits are summoned in order to reveal where things lost or strayed men may be found. Childless married people consult them as to how they may obtain children. The help of the forefathers is besought in epidemics. When the first missionary came to Silindung in the heart of Battakland, a medium, on the occasion of a sacrificial feast, expressed the conviction that unless they slew or drove away the white man with his new customs, the ancestor would bring evil upon his descendants. The medium is frequently also the foreteller of coming events. Thus, from the statements of some old Battak Christians, some years before the appearance of the first missionary, a medium foretold his coming and exhorted his grandchildren to hearken to the good message of the foreign men.

The ecstatic condition is often, though not always, furthered by artificial means such as incense, drum-beating and dancing. A medium, however, is frequently possessed without these.

The medium is much exhausted by his efforts. Not infrequently at the beginning of his career he falls ill and dies; such people it is said never reach old age. But they have a high place in the people's esteem. They are persons to be reverenced, and whom it is dangerous to come too near. No one becomes a medium through study (like the datu). The spirit himself chooses his own media. While it is difficult to pay the datu for his labour, the medium receives nothing. When he dies a successor is not appointed by election or any human mediation, but only by the entrance of the spirit. Shamanism is found among many peoples of the Indian Archipelago, the Battaks, the Javanese, the Buginese, the Alfurus in Halmahera, Buru, Ambon, Minahassa, Borneo, Bali, Letti, Malacca, among the Papuans, and in the south sea. We come upon it also among the Kols, in South India, and among many peoples of Africa. The Shamanism of the Tunguses is highly developed.[1] It seems therefore to be a frequent accompaniment of spirit worship.

In many cases the possessed may be skilled impostors. But that itself does not explain the ecstatic condition. Attempts have been made to trace back the paroxysms to madness or to epilepsy, which are states that may be artificially produced. But the Battaks are capable of clearly distinguishing madness and epilepsy from possession. Mental diseases of course, like all bodily diseases, are traced back to the influence of evil spirits; but a medium's ecstatic condition is of quite a different character. It does not resemble any known form of madness. A madman never seeks to proclaim the will of ancestors; he never pretends to be a medium of spirits; he is tormented not by ancestors but by evil spirits only. Before and after the paroxysms the medium is in a perfectly normal state of mind. A mentally diseased or epileptic person is never consulted about the will of the ancestors. That would be done as the more simple procedure were the ecstatic state of the medium regarded only as a mental disease artificially produced. Moreover the mentally

[1] Kruyt, "Animisme," p. 449 ff. Wurm, "Religionsgesch," p. 57 ff. It also frequently appears in China: H. Talyor, "Pastor Hsi," p. 153 ff.

diseased is entirely unfit to be a medium. Attempts to explain the matter by hysteria, catalepsy, and the like, only substitute one enigma for another. The Battak Christians are firmly convinced that these things are real, and that they are the work of demons. They meet our doubts with the question: Do you know any better explanation? "The answer we get from Christians make this at least certain that in by far the greater number of cases there is no conscious deception, and that as a rule the Sibaso is left in a state of semi-bewilderment and of eclipse of self-consciousness." The missionary Lett from his experience on Nias declares: "It may be difficult to distinguish the actual influence of demoniac powers from conscious dissimulation, delusion, lying and deceit. But this is certain that in the heathen world still untouched by the Gospel there are dark spiritual powers at work of which we in Christendom know nothing, and that the heathen are exposed to many influences from the kingdom of darkness from which we seem to be protected." "We missionaries must try to do justice to such facts, the more so that we have in all our communities sincere Christians who were themselves formerly under such influence, and who guarantee its reality from their own experience."[1]

Battak Christians, who were themselves in former days media, have sometimes, against their will, fallen back into the possessed state. When, as they say, "they became men again, they were made profoundly miserable by their fall, and they assured me that they must have been acting under a constraint which they could not resist.[2]

[1] Additional proofs will be given in the following pages.

[2] Metzler, the missionary at Silindung, at a time when Christianity had already entered on its course of victory, reports as follows: A sacrificial feast was held by the heathen, on account of a mentally diseased youth. A Christian at the same time appeared as medium, and confessed afterwards to the missionary that he and his wife had prayed that God would keep them from the evil spirit, and yet, against his will and knowledge, he had gone to that village and been possessed, and after regaining his senses was thoroughly ashamed. A Christian woman confessed that the spirit came upon her, and then she no longer knew what was being done with her. The elder of the village and some chiefs watched her when the music began in the neighbouring village. The elder said to her, You are now a Christian, and the evil

The descending spirit makes use of a special language, the words of which, like that of the funeral songs, are partly paraphrases, partly obsolete, and not understood by every one. It is possible that a medium may have practised this vocabulary beforehand, but in many cases most improbable. As a rule the drum must be beaten a long time if the spirit of the ancestor is to come, and the medium is wont to bring on the convulsions by a dance. But neither is absolutely necessary. The ecstatic condition is mostly brought about by a certain intoxication and disorder of mind. Possession rarely comes to a man unprepared, and at a time when no one is thinking of it. Sometimes the medium may not have known the dead man whose consciousness has replaced his own. One who was born a Christian reported two cases in which women, on whom the spirit had alighted, read Battak writings fluently in their ecstatic condition, though in their normal state they could not read. People who at other times can scarcely read display great eloquence in the possessed state. However the ecstatic state may be explained, this at least is certain, that so far as it is not simply deception, the soul of the possessed is interfered with by powers which he cannot control, powers which annihilate his will, his self-consciousness, his own thought, and replace

spirit has nothing more to do with you. At his prayer the woman became quiet, but after a time became restless again. Men held her by force, but could not in the end resist her. She tore herself free, and rushed into the heathen village. Later she came to the missionary in tears, confessing her sin, and that she was ashamed at being seen by the people. How could I have left my children alone in the night if I had been in possession of my senses. Only a few weeks ago my two brothers died, and that would certainly have prevented me from going to such a place if I had known what I was doing. Another woman, in a like situation, confessed that she did not know how she went to the village, and was afterwards ashamed and afraid. Both women are regular churchgoers. A candidate for baptism at Si Marangkir (Silindung), who had formerly been a medium, was again and again assailed by the spirits seeking to possess her. During an illness she suddenly sprang from her bed, and began to dance around the house like one possessed, telling her relatives that unless they made an offering to it—the spirit—which had been formerly promised, it would give her no rest. After she had come to herself, she firmly and stoutly maintained that she did not know what had happened to her.

them by a foreign determining power. It is worth noting that heathen Christians unanimously explain possession not by disease, but by supernatural influences, and they do so with a clearness and assurance which is otherwise foreign to them.

The dead are worshipped first of all by putting their ornaments and property into the grave along with them, by killing slaves and cattle at the burial,[1] by preparing a great feast at which much food is divided among the guests. Three days after the funeral food is placed on the grave, together with the dead man's tobacco pouch and tinder box. Money, tobacco, food, and all kinds of objects are laid on the grave that the dead man may carry them to the relatives who had died before him. The grave is ornamented with the horns of the buffalo that was slain at the death-feast, and at a later time with wooden and stone ornaments as a memorial of how much the dead man was honoured. Carved and chiselled images commemorate a dead chief. Prominent heads of tribes are buried at first provisionally, and years after, when all the flesh has rotted, the bones are dug up again amid the beating of drums and the firing of guns. These are anointed, presented with food, and definitely set in a prominent spot. On this occasion as many as fifteen buffaloes and one hundred pigs are slaughtered. By this solemn ceremony the soul of the ancestor is promoted, and becomes a higher being in the other world.

After the lapse of about seven generations from the death of a distinguished man his descendants constitute him a Sumangot. But it is always a matter of *do ut des*, inasmuch as he is now under obligation to bless his people. Whilst sacrifices are offered to an ordinary begu only when he makes himself perceptibly unpleasant, offerings are made to the higher spirits without any constraining cause. Large cattle only must be offered to them. The highest stage to which an ancestor can climb is called Sombaon. He is installed in that rank also by a festival of the tribe. There is built for him on the market-place a little dwelling-house, which he

[1] The Dayaks bury a living slave with the dead.

visits at the feasts. A buffalo or a horse is sacrificed, and its blood offered to him. The Sombaon is a prince among the dead; it is said that he sometimes ascends to God, and remains a long time with Him. His dwelling, which he chooses for himself, must not be entered by men. He is seen sometimes in the form of an immense serpent. After the manner of semi-deities the Sombaon occasionally mingle with men, abduct beautiful maidens, carry on all manner of roguish tricks, and sometimes bless individuals with rich gifts. To their descendants, however, they are protecting spirits; they are their real gods.

As the relation to the spirits is in no way conditioned by morality, it is only natural that attempts should be made to turn the power of the dead to one's advantage by means of magic. The magician (datu) has a closer connection with them than other men, and knows how to compel them into his service. This, of course, applies less to the ancestors, who, on receiving liberal gifts, are always ready to protect the house, the village, and the tribe, than to the remoter spirits; these need compulsion before they will serve the magician. That is most clearly shown in the Battak pangulubalang. A boy from another tribe is captured; his confidence is won by dainties. One day he is brought out in front of the village, where his eyes are covered. The magician steps in front of the boy and questions, one might say hypnotises, him: "Wilt thou go whither we send thee? Wilt thou do us good and our enemies harm? Wilt thou defend us in war and destroy our enemies? Wilt thou kill those whom we name to thee?" To all these questions the boy, without misgivings, says yes. Meanwhile lead has been melted on the fire; it is suddenly poured down the boy's throat, and the boy dies.[1] The corpse is burnt to ashes; the ashes and the fat are gathered and made into a magic medicine. This is concealed in a stone image, which thereby becomes endowed with a soul. The soul of the murdered boy is employed as an aid in war; it is sent out to kill enemies, or to cause them to commit suicide.

[1] The probable object of this mode of killing is to prevent the promises being withdrawn in the death struggle.

They have thereby secured the service of a spirit who is compelled to let loose his destructive powers on all against whom they, his masters, set him. The soul of such a murdered man sometimes descends on a medium much against the medium's will, for, as we can easily understand, they wish to keep the matter secret. The medium in a frenzy stuffs burning coals, or masses of strong pepper, into his mouth, drinks great quantities of filthy water, gathers up remnants of food that are lying about, and devours them with the greed of an animal. Then the spirit cries: "I say it, I say it." He wishes to reveal who he was, and who were his murderers. This must be prevented lest it cause trouble to the murderers. All therefore cry: "You must not do that, grandfather." He also reveals what the inhabitants of the village must do in order to dwell secure and be victorious.[1]

The spirits are even directly opposed. In epidemics they are shot at and attacked with swords, while drums are beaten and a "heathenish noise" made by beating on the wooden partitions of the houses, clappering with metal plates and with boards in order to frighten the begu and make them fly away. If a woman has died in child-bed, all the men in the neighbourhood whose wives are near their confinement shoot towards the village entrance to hinder the spirit who killed that other woman from coming in. Though the souls are incorporeal, yet they seem sensible to shot and stab. At burials also guns are fired to keep them away. When a child is being born the man arms himself with a sword to prevent all evil spirits from entering through the crevices of the house. Certain signs scrawled with chalk upon the house bar the entrance of dangerous guests. Thorns of the wild citron are affixed to the house stairs, and a trough full of water is placed before them, that the spirits may be wounded or frightened,

[1] Attempts have been made to place the pangulubalang on the same plane as the ancestor image of the Niassers, into which is brought the soul of the departed. That is favoured by the fact that the murdered man sometimes visits a medium, and that it is the soul which lives after death and not the impersonal soul-stuff that is in question. I do not know whether soul-stuff or the soul of a dead person is supposed to be active in the magic wand which is so popular. Perhaps that occupies the same stage as the pangulubalang.

for they are afraid of water. An offensive smell drives away spirits. Hence the sick are often enveloped in the densest smoke.

There is no disgrace in fleeing from spirits. Gloomy places are avoided, and people do not care to go out alone. Except in cases of necessity no one leaves the house after sunset, or in moonlight, when the spirits swarm in great numbers. Houses and villages are shifted here and there to escape the influence of evil spirits. Sick people are carried secretly by night into another house to get away from the tormenting spirit. They prefer to deceive the spirits.[1] During harvest loud singing and whistling are avoided lest the spirits should suppose that men were rejoicing at an abundant harvest, and out of envy take their share. Diseases are spoken of euphemistically. If a sick person is improving, care must be taken not to say so, but to paraphrase it—"The sick person is more so and so." The aim of many of the above-mentioned mourning usages is to dupe the spirits of the departed. The ancestors are also occasionally assailed with mockery and wrath.[2]

[1] If a man is hindered, in the day's work he had planned, by an unfavourable sign, he returns home and goes to bed. On being wakened, he acts as if a new day had begun, and goes to his work satisfied with his successful cunning. The Papuans deceive their spirits by setting before them only the tail of the animal, and making the animal itself run while they say: Here, you have a piece of a dog or of a pig. In Leh, little Thibet, a mother fouls the face of her child with filth, which so disfigures the child that the spirits think he is very hateful, and do not envy the mother. Hateful names are given children for the same reason.

[2] A heathen Niasser, who was hard pressed by his creditors, suddenly fell into a rage against the idol which represented his father. He took it down from its place, saying: Idol of my father, since you have not helped me to dignity and wealth, you must regale yourself to-night under the brood-hen, and he thrust it there. Next morning he brought it forth, and blasphemously said: Well, idol of my father, how did you enjoy last night under the hen? Then he swung it out into the bush through the garret window. The Alfurus and Halmaheras treat images and amulets that do not prove effective to strokes of a stick. A peculiar light is thrown upon the idolatry of the educated Chinese by reading the following: Outside the town Nan-wei there are embankments to protect the land against the sea. The land between the embankment and the sea is watered by a canal which is regulated by sluices. The god of a neighbouring temple has power over the sluices, and they must not be opened without his permission. A new official caused the sluices to be opened without consulting the god. It was now said the water could

The worship of spirits, with the fear underlying it, completely fills the religious life of the Battaks and of all animistic peoples. Their whole daily life in its minutest details is saturated with it. At birth, name-giving, courting, marriage, house-building, seed-time and harvest, the spirits must be considered. In wood-cutting, in the laying out of a village, in war, in commerce, in smithy and agricultural operations, they must be satisfied. They share in the meals, the dwelling, the blessings of the harvest. They receive their share of goods before any of the living; they witness everything, and demand consideration. The heathen in their own way are eminently religious.[1] They make no distinction between religion and social life. The business of the family, the state, and everything else is built upon and determined by the religion of spirits. Hence the all but innumerable multitude of prohibitions regarding food, usages, words and actions. Hence the observing of days, the interpretation of dreams, the sacrifices and feasts, with their important claims. The heathen spend much on their religion. To meet its claims they involve themselves in hopeless debt, neglect their labour for their daily bread, impose upon themselves the most absurd sacrifices, and never think of grumbling. In all that, of course, the reference to God or gods falls into the background. The

not flow back as the god was offended. The official caused the image to be brought before him in the Yamen, and the god was commended to throw himself down in presence of the Mandarin as is customary at audiences. The idol was laid with its face on the ground, and the Mandarin scolded it like a woman for its insubordination, condemning its wicked behaviour in not allowing the water to flow back, although that was necessary for the welfare of the land. He then delivered the idol to the constables to give it forty strokes. The people saw nothing extraordinary in that, as it was in harmony with their ideas of the relation between the gods and them ("Chronicle of London Miss. Society," 1907, p. 163 f.). A long-continued drought prevailed in Shan-si. When all sacrifices failed, the idols were dragged from the temple and placed in the burning sun that they might there roast and split, and so send the needful rain for their self-preservation (H. Taylor, "A Chinese Scholar," p. 129).

[1] Religious fear runs through all the relations of the Papuan's life. We get the same impression from the Ewe, the Kols, the Karens, the Basutos, etc.

spirits are really the gods, and never has tyrant more cruelly tormented his slaves than the spirits and demons their blinded worshippers. If the heathen were desirous of getting rid of God, why did they not seek a brighter and more cheerful cult? Why, in all the world, do they worry themselves with religions that yield them only labour and sorrow?

B. THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ANIMISTIC HEATHENISM

The more thoroughly we study animistic heathenism the more astonished we become at the wonderful system which we had never dreamed of finding among uncivilised peoples, among cannibals and head-hunters. We discover that even vilified heathenism shows a work of thought. Superstition has a system. Its ungainly features are not marked by a planless caprice, but all converge to one centre, the view of the soul as the highest good. The strange world of ideas confronts us as a compact philosophy of nature. We are fairly amazed at the uncivilised man's inherent love of knowledge, the need he feels for a rational approach to the enigmas and forces of the world, and for coming to an understanding with the supernatural. Animistic heathenism must be taken as seriously as the higher religions of Greece and India. It has not found the truth, has even wandered far from it, but what a felt need for knowledge! Animists are engaged in putting questions, the problem of human life has risen upon them, and they are wrestling with the riddle of existence. A melancholy gravity, a tragic sadness runs through animistic religion, and all frivolity and enjoyment of life are far from it. The splendour of the tropics has been unable to brighten the religious life of the Animist. The results of his reflection are dark, hard, and cheerless. The friendly gods are far away, the spirits are numerous and formidable, their service hard, while fate is pitiless and their own souls unmerciful. How

precious must religion be to men when it leads them to accept such burdens!

But however much we may be surprised by the animistic system of thought, we must not suffer it to keep us from looking at the sober facts. It is only the outer side of things of which thought takes hold. We cannot tell whether, in earlier days, God was earnestly sought, but the animistic heathenism of to-day thrusts God and the gods aside. No one nowadays seeks after God. That which was formerly invented, perhaps in a sincere desire for knowledge, is now ossified into rigid misunderstood pictures, which, however much they rule the practical life, excite no one to reflection. Hardly any one can now explain the meaning of usages so scrupulously observed. The Animist of to-day knows no labouring with religious problems, far less any wrestling with them. It is easy to idealise Animism, and to surround its adherents with the glory of souls in eager search for truth. But the picture would not be true. The Animist of to-day is imprisoned in a tradition he misunderstands; his thoughts and aspirations are directed solely to earthly values, and the supernatural interests him only so far as he must come to terms with it in the interests of his earthly well-being. Animistic heathenism exhibits a *complexio oppositorum*; a search for truth and an indifference towards the Divine; a reflection on the deepest problems and a clinging to the stalest externalities of life; a very real, sorrowful resignation accompanied with the deepest moral corruption. The painful labours of former generations have been fossilised, and become a curse to the later ones. But the preaching of the Gospel has to do with the heathenism of the present, and if it does not mean to give up all its influence, must paint heathenism neither too white nor too black: it must do justice to all its forces, the good as well as the evil. An elephant may be taught clever tricks quite contrary to its nature. But that is not the real elephant. The elephant nature must be studied in the primeval forest, not in the circus. Heathenism and its forces are only

understood in intercourse with the heathen. The messengers of the Gospel will only hinder the success of the Gospel by any one-sided emphasising either of the lights or of the shadows of heathenism. Mission work must, in its own interest, endeavour to work out as true a picture of heathenism as possible. It is a matter of necessity, therefore, for us to enter into the details of this question; what features stand out as essential from the chaos of animistic heathenism, its doctrine of gods, souls, and spirits. The missionary ought to be in a favourable position for such an inquiry, seeing he knows not only heathenism, but what is much more important here, he knows the heathen as well.

Any one who has an intimate acquaintance with animistic heathen will see that they are possessed by a reasoned world-view concerning the all-soul and its influences, but that in all real religious questions there is universal uncertainty and great ignorance. There is a desire to understand surrounding nature with its mysterious powers of life and destruction, but it remains full of mystery and dread. They have a dim sense of some higher supernatural power directing these natural forces. They give names to that power; they clothe it in a human garment; they endeavour to find out what it is, yet all the while they feel that they are groping in the dark. Custom and tradition lull them into apathetic repose, but they always become conscious of their ignorance as soon as they are confronted by the sure convictions of the foreigner. The only argument which a heathen brings against any challenging doubt is an appeal to the ancestors, Our fathers taught us thus. Every heathen admits that he knows nothing certain about God, or his relation to Him, about creation and the life to come, that is to say, about those very questions which he would fain have answered. The missionaries when they inquire about religious things always get the answer: "That is not known; we cannot see God." But when they ask further: "Why then do you name the gods and tell stories about them?" the answer is: "The ancients have so told us, but no one knows anything clearly about

them."[1] The inherited tradition about the life after death satisfies them, because they never reflect upon the subject, and know of nothing better. The animistic heathen knows nothing about religious problems and personal convictions, and has no desire to think about them, for he does not regard religious matters as personal convictions to be won, but as a fixed possession of the tribe. All that his countrymen believe he accepts unquestioningly. The religious and intellectual life of the people is smothered in incredible indolence. No one has any sense of responsibility. Every one does what every one else does, and every one bows in submission to what they all fear.

This fundamental uncertainty is found everywhere in animistic heathendom. Asked about his conceptions of the other world the Papuans of Dutch New Guinea are wont to answer, "We do not know." When the people of Madagascar are sounded about their religious affairs the usual answer is, "We do not know that," or, "We do not think about these things." A traveller once asked a Damra highlander, "Who created the earth and the world?" The answer was, "We do not know; we are a stupid people; all that we need to know is how to kill a big animal and eat it." If a Herero is asked, "Whither do your people go after death?" he will answer, "I do not know." Missionaries of the Church of England Missionary Society report concerning the Dinka (Soudan), "They have very indistinct notions about the life after death, and, if questioned on the subject, some will answer (ακωοι), 'We do not know.'" To all his deeper questions, Bohner, on the gold coast, always got the answer, "We do not know." An old heathen of Ma-Gwamba in South Africa said, "Why does our land lie in death? It is because we are ignorant. Let us learn, and our land will live." Even in India, Missionary Gloyer declares of the Dombo in Jeypur: "It is incredible how foolish, ignorant, and

[1] It is possible to discuss religious questions with Mohammedans, but I have never succeeded in doing so with the heathen of Sumatra. They feel the weakness of their position. The Mohammedan becomes keen and angry in religious discussions, the heathen remains cool, admits his ignorance, and intrenches himself behind his inability to know.

dependent the heathen are in religious things. We would do them grievous wrong by assuming that they understood their religion in the slightest degree. They have only a practical interest in it. Father and mother have so done —further than that there is only stupidity." These testimonies, taken at random, could easily be increased.

The system of religion sketched above must not deceive us as to the insecure footing which it gives to its adherents. There are no martyrs of an animistic religion. The inherited piety is supported solely by the rotten pillars of custom and tradition. When we missionaries are gathering material concerning a heathen religion, we get the most diverse answers, for the traditions do not agree. It must not be supposed that the statements we have made above under the rubric, belief in the gods and in spirits, are a spiritual property of the individual heathen. Very few of them can give even fragmentary explanations. It is only by various collections, by knocking at the most diverse doors, by the combination and the comparison of material collected among kindred tribes, that we get any clear picture of his religion, such a picture as indeed never dawned on a heathen mind.[1] He is satisfied to conform to the cultus to which all subscribe. The world of thought on which it is built is to him a matter of total indifference.

The student is surprised to find the same wavering uncertainty in the morality that is closely connected with their religion. It is impossible to construct any harmonious system of the ethics of animistic religion. No doubt a custom has been formed to which all submit, and which they have not the power to disregard. This custom has two roots, the stronger being tradition, supported by fear of the ancestors; that which has been is right, that which is new is to be rejected. Its other root is egoism. Certain limits must be drawn, or everything will go to ruin. Theft, adultery, and

[1] The right view is frequently obtained only by comparison of the views and customs of kindred peoples. And it is just this systematic comparison of all religions of the Archipelago which makes Kruyt's book on Animism so reliable in its results.

the like are punishable acts in the interest of decency and order; but they are not morally condemned. Theft is punished at one time, at another it is praised as a sign of cunning. The adulterer is devoured in certain circumstances, viz., when he is poor; when he has no powerful relations to protect or ransom him; but that does not prevent fornication being stamped a manly virtue. Lying is condemned in proverbs, but parents rejoice when their son exhibits adroitness through shameless lying. There are beautiful moral fables which inculcate virtue and rectitude, love and fidelity, but the man who made them the rule of his conduct would be laughed at. Everywhere there is contradiction, obscurity, and ignorance. It can be shown with some appearance of truth that the animistic religions teach that the gods avenge evil, and also that they are utterly indifferent regarding it. Retribution in the other world is postulated and also denied. Their fatalism makes all moral effort illusory. Lofty thoughts and the foulest coarseness go irreconcilably together.

Paul in Acts xvii. 30 characterises heathenism as *χρόνοι της ἀγνοίας*. He calls the heathen in Eph. iv. 18, *ἐσκοτωμένοι τῇ διανοιᾳ ὄντες, διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς*. They are compared in scripture to the blind (Isaiah xlii. 7), and heathenism to darkness (Isaiah ix. 2; Acts xxvi. 18; Eph. v. 8). This does not mean that there is nothing but night and darkness in heathenism. Darkness means, in scripture, ignorance in moral and religious matters; he that is in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth; he has no goal before him; he sees no way, and gropes about in uncertainty. That is precisely the situation of animistic heathenism on its formal side. The heathen knows not whence he cometh, whither he goeth, or how he should demean himself upon the way.

But all the while he longs for certainty, for an authority to guarantee him absolute knowledge. Hence the consideration given to priests and magicians; they pretend to know something certain about the gods and spirits. The heathen runs to them in every time of anxiety and distress, and pays them liberally. Often deceived by them he comes back

again; he clings to them as the only people who know. This is the cause of the breathless interest with which the multitude listens to the utterance of the spirit when he settles on a medium—he must know something certain, for he comes, he says, from the kingdom of spirits. One of our Battak teachers, in an essay on the Battak religion, describes this longing by a parable: "The heathen Battaks seek God, but in doing so they are like the young bird talaktak, who, when its mother has flown away for food, opens its bill at every bird it sees, opens its bill even to the dry falling wood, and only wearies itself by so doing. Before it gets anything to eat, its mother must come. So was it with the heathen in their search for God. They worshipped that which was not God, and they only wearied themselves in so doing, for they made their Father that which was not their Father." They have recourse to dreams, oracles, inspection of fowls, search for signs, judgments of God, and the like, because they desire a reliable revelation of God.

This uncertainty of animistic heathenism is shown in the numerous inconsequences of its thought and action. Men believe in God, and yet do not trouble themselves about Him. He is called the "source of being," and yet they trace the origin of man to another source. The ancestors are believed to be dependent on the gifts of the living, and yet they pray to them as the givers of earthly good. Laws are promulgated whose authority is respected by no one, and evil is condemned and praised in a single breath. The idea of an inexorable fate cannot fail to cripple every religious action, and rarely is any effort made by sacrifice and magic to avert the predetermined evil. All these are pure contradictions that cannot be reconciled. When these inconsequences are pointed out to the Battak he has no other answer than the desperate one, We do not know. The Christians among them feel at once those contradictions, and delight to use them in their polemics.

This childish, unprofitable, wavering search has something touching in it, which justifies the hope that the erring will in due time find. At least they have tried to touch the hem

of the Divine garment, and have fallen into the worship of nature, dimly seeing in its forces, and falteringly worshipping there the Deity. They have sought for some explanation of the world, and the life of man with its duties, entanglements and enigmas, which would satisfy them, and they have been caught in the net of Animism, this marvellous philosophy of nature which constructs an All-soul alongside the Deity as the power of life. They have sought to obtain a glimpse into the mystery of death, and the darkness that lies beyond it, and they have fallen into the swamp of spiritism, where they seek intercourse with the dead, and yet at the same time fear contact with them, where they imagine that they are dependent on the events of that shadowy world beyond, and yet dream that the living have power over the dead. But as soon as anything new comes within the horizon of uncivilised man, whether it be the positive assertion of the Christian message or the self-conscious propaganda of Islam, the beliefs he has hitherto held begin to waver. They were never inwardly possessed. The animistic heathen never attempts to force his opinions on the adherents of other religions; he is not sufficiently sure of them himself to do this. So long as his own circle of beliefs is not disturbed he lives indolent and self-satisfied on his capital of inherited ideas. And he draws back in alarm from the stronger convictions of others.

There is something pardonable in ignorance and blindness. They may and do merit blame, but they are not wickedness. Those who have wandered from the way may be brought back, and those who are ignorant may be taught. Hence God could wink at the times of ignorance (Acts xvii. 30). So far as heathenism is uncertainty, missionaries can go to work with hope of success.

If, however, animistic heathenism were only uncertainty and ignorance, the first ray of the Divine message that fell upon it would be sufficient to dispel the darkness and put an end to the blind groping. But there are mightier powers at work in heathenism. There is revealed in it a power of

falsehood and misguidance which is the deeper basis of that uncertainty. We do not mean to say that the animistic heathen is false in the practice of his religion. No, it is to him a holy and a serious matter, the most important business of his life; and even the magician, to whom many gross deceptions can be brought home, is more deceived than deceiving. But all the members of this religion are bound up in a system of lies, against which they are themselves helpless. It must not be said that everything in animistic heathenism is lies. Then it would be altogether inaccessible to Divine truth. The loving, searching eye of the people's friend will discover many scattered rays of light and a keen desire for clearness. But the true thoughts, fettered and all but ruled out of the religious life, are reduced in their influence to a minimum. The idea of God still exists, but has no meaning to the Animist; it is held down by the ideas about spirits and souls. The lie proves stronger than the budding shoots of higher ideas.

What has Animism made of God, the holy and gracious Creator and Governor of the world? It has divested Him of His omnipotence, His love, His holiness and righteousness, and has put Him out of all relation with men. The idea of God has become a mere decoration; his worship a caricature. Spirits inferior to men, whose very well-being is dependent on men's moods, are feared instead of the Almighty; the rule of an inexorable fate is substituted for the wise and good government of God. Absurd lies are believed concerning the life after death, and efforts are made to master the malevolent spirits by a childish magic.

Animistic heathenism deceives its adherents about the worth of life and the way to happiness. It plants in their minds a false estimate of temporal good and natural life, putting earthly values in the first place and God in the last. It declares that health, abundance of children, property and power constitutes man's happiness, and any means of obtaining them is good. The heathen is deceived here in the same way as the drunkard, who is persuaded by his passion that drink must bring him rest. It is the same lying power

which, in opposition to the clear Word of God, persuades us that riches and might are happiness, although it is manifest that they are not. The lie promises "life" to the heathen, if he observes the animistic commands and prohibitions, cultivates his soul, ruthlessly treads down all others, and keeps the spirits in good humour.[1]

Animistic heathenism deludes man as to the worth of his personality, of that within him which is Divine. It deprives him of his freedom, his personal spiritual life, and degrades him to a will-less, thoughtless member of a flock of cattle. Who is it that gains the promised "life"? The most diligent idolater, in exchange for his sacrifices and conscientious observance of usages and prohibitions, only gets an increased sense of fear. The result of the restless search for God is a growing estrangement from God. The heathen is religious, and without meaning it he is constantly blaspheming God. The thoughtful man sees that he has been deceived in his wishes, hopes, offerings, prayers, and acts of worship. No promise is ever redeemed. It is not mere error into which the poor Animist has fallen; a positive lying power has mastered the ignorant. Left to itself heathenism might have lost God and neglected His worship. But it could not have created such a caricature of religion for its own torment, unless some lying evil power, taking advantage of its ignorance, had painted for it a picture of God, and of the world which leads the heathen far away from all he seeks. Animists believe that they have God, and they have lost Him; they believe that they are hunting for life, and they find death; they believe that they are serving God and are His opponents. In this sense Paul says of the heathen that they are carried away to dumb idols even as they are led. They give the impression of a people who are misled and deceived in the most shameful fashion, and who all the while believe absolutely in the lies by which they are being hypnotised.

[1] If you show the Battak the folly of his idolatry, you will always get the answer: Is it not life that we are seeking in this way? This answer, which is seriously meant, covers the basest cruelties.

The lying power has also brought about an inconceivable perversion of moral ideas. It represents to the Animist: "You are not responsible for your action, for God has created you as you are," the blame of all human shortcomings being thus thrown upon the holy God. The lie kills man's belief in his moral freedom; and it condemns his will, the divinest of God's gifts, to impotence. The bad is declared good; the most vulgar egoism is made the sum of the commandments. The lie is all the more dangerous in that it is mixed with elements of truth. Murder, theft, adultery and faithlessness seem to be condemned, and there are abundant moral proverbs which would lead one to infer fine moral feeling.[1] But these proverbs do not truly reflect the moral condition of the people. Wickedness and vulgarity are praised and practised without compunction. Harmless things, such as offences against politeness, are reckoned sins, while stealing, leaving the sick to perish in their misery, robbing widows and orphans of their goods, torturing to death the defenceless and such like, are not deemed wrong. Human sacrifices, head-hunting, cannibalism and brutal cruelty are pious exercises of religion, part of the ritual of spirit worship. What a fearful power of falsehood is here that can thus turn upside down their ideas of good and evil, and rob them of all moral sense.

The hypnotising power of the lie is manifest in the fraudulent trade of the magician. They know and admit that the magician is an arch-knave who deceives wherever anything is to be gained, but they are afraid of his mysterious art, and they neither desire nor deem it possible to be freed

[1] Here are some Battak proverbs. The empty ear of rice stands erect, the full one bends low. Pride is the beginning of destruction, politeness is life, insolence is ruin. When his wrath is rising a man does not think of destruction. Do not strike the man who treats you with consideration, and do not fall upon him who is coming to meet you. You will not lose by giving to one who begs; the rising sun cannot be arrested; there is a reason for a man being lost, a cause for his going to the bottom; nothing but evil comes from contention; money got through robbery vanisheth. There are also moral fables which treat of charity, fidelity, pity, and gratitude, and which would do honour to Gellert. The Niassers have similar proverbs with the same low state of morality.

from the enchantment of his influence.[1] They turn to him again even when his avarice and deception have become notorious. The lying sway of the magicians presses more heavily on the adherents of the African religions than in the Indian Archipelago. Bohner the missionary denies their claim to supernatural powers, and regards them as shameless charlatans.[2] And yet the degraded people submit without a murmur to their lying rule. These mischiefmakers are called as deliverers in cases of sickness or misfortune, and information is expected about the life after death from professional liars, simply because they pretend to be in communion with the other world. The oracle of the spirits through their media ; is it not like a caricature of revelation ? Deceived grossly a thousand times, the animistic heathen are willing to be deceived again and again. About fourteen years ago, there appeared in Battak land a wonderful deceiver, Guru Somalaing, who dressed up a fantastic mixture of heathenism, Mohammedanism, Protestant and Catholic dogmas ; he sent forth silly oracles concerning himself, declaring that he was a worker of miracles ; he was a liar of the most vulgar kind. The Battak Christians mocked him, but the heathen ran to him in thousands ; willingly they gave him money and cattle ; they stood in the pouring rain while he declared it was not raining. And to-day, when all his prophecies have been proved false, and he himself banished by the Dutch Colonial Government, many of his adherents still cling to him. One gets the impression that the heathen are attracted magnetically by lies ; that having forsaken God they have to pay tribute to every deceiver. A heathen negro in Suriname admitted : " You serve the truth and we serve lies. The lie always gains increasing power over us, even when we do not wish it. When we are in distress we turn again to the lie." [3]

[1] The Battaks admit that they are shorn in the most shameless way by the magic priest, but stupidly retort, What can we do, we cannot refuse to call him.

[2] Bohner, " Im Lande des Fetischs." Spieth also convicted the magician in Tobo of many gross deceptions, *e.g.*, in the judgment of God.

[3] The Niassers believe the magic priest when he offers them the wildest lies. In Nusoor, New Guinea, deceivers sometimes appear, pretending to be

Deceived and defrauded in their religion the heathen are themselves given over to lying. They seem to have lost the sense for truth and honesty. It is no exaggeration to say of the heathen of the Indian Archipelago that they are all masters in the art of lying. Lying is to them synonymous with cleverness. There are many virtues to be found among heathen peoples, but hardly anywhere a love of truth. The Battaks cannot understand that lies are dishonourable. If you convict a Battak of a lie, which is really a very difficult thing, because he is so adroit, he will laugh heartily and think "you are more crafty than I." At every step one is told impudent falsehoods, so that one comes to disbelieve every heathen. The missionaries among the otherwise lovable Niassers have the same experience. "These Niassers are shocking liars, so that one is gradually forced to distrust every one of them, and even every word." Without a quiver of the eyelid they will use the deepest curses to confirm their lies. It is the same with the Dayaks on Borneo. The peoples of the Indian Archipelago are quite infamous for their mendacity. The same is the case with the inhabitants of the Talaut Islands. It is said of the people of Haruku, With a countenance of the utmost indifference they will tell an untruth so gross and shameful that you smite your hands in astonishment, and, if necessary, they are ready at once to confirm the lie with an oath. The Papuan, although he says lying is bad, looks upon it as a fine art. He is dexterous in every kind of deception, and is a master in stealing.

the expected Manggundi, who is to bring a happy life free from labour. Everything they say is believed, even when they declare that they can raise the dead. Though disappointment always follows, they are ready to believe the next deceiver. An experience which Spieth had on Togo shows how willing the heathen are to be deceived. A man in Ho, in order to put a celebrated magician to the proof, came to him pretending to be ill. He smeared his leg with dirt and declared that the leg was badly injured. The magician declared it to be incurable, as he had got it from a diseased person in the pre-existent state. The man then took off the bandages and showed the confused magician that his leg was quite sound. The spectators, however, far from being convinced of the deception of the magician, drove away the man because he had tempted God and measured his strength with God.

We are told that Ranawalona I., the anti-Christian King of Madagascar, whose inhabitants are partly of the Malay stock, among the grievances which he had against the Christians, brought forward their unintelligible truthfulness. In the Edict it is said: "The answer you give in taking an oath is, 'It is true.' When you are asked, 'Do you swear,' your answer is, 'It is true'—that surprises me. What do you mean by this word true?" Eppler adds this comment: To the people of Madagascar, among whom a lie is a great virtue and wisdom, it was certainly quite incomprehensible and incredible. The Herero and Nama are shameless liars. The Kaffirs are masters in lying, and it is almost impossible for a European to convict a Kaffir unless he has convincing proof in his hand. The man who speaks the truth makes himself ridiculous. The missionary Rössler declares that every word of the Shambala of East Africa is a lie. An african chief does not know the truth, as it is one of his princely privileges to be at liberty to lie. Sebuschane says of them: "You must put the same value on the saying of a chief as you do on the bellowing of an ox. The Betschuans are all untruthful. The inhabitants of the Bismarck Archipelago are all notorious liars and thieves. But lying prevails in other religions besides the animistic. An Indian proverb says thirty-two lies a day or an empty stomach. The Hindus lie whenever they open their mouths, and can hardly speak one word of truth. It is a grievous sin for them to kill an animal, but no sin to tell a lie. Gloyer declares of the Indians: "The heathen have been deceived and defrauded from their youth, and that has made their hearts untruthful."[1] Lying and deception are among the national sins of the Chinese.[2] These testimonies could easily be increased. Mendacity, lack of the sense of truthfulness and honesty, is a feature

[1] A peculiar light is thrown on the much-boasted religiousness of the Hindu by their appalling and shameless lying. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

[2] I have never known a heathen on whose word I could put any reliance. A Chinese is never more in his element than when uttering a shameless lie. A lie to them is exactly what an appropriate answer is to us (Griffith John).

that we come upon with striking unanimity everywhere in animistic heathenism, and also far beyond its limits. Mendacity is not merely a national sin of this or that people, but might be said to be a natural and necessary manifestation of heathenism.

The result of this atmosphere of falsehood is universal distrust. No one can trust his fellow. The father distrusts the son, the son distrusts the father. Behind every word they scent a lie; behind every movement treachery. Hence, an oath is demanded in every protestation, in every dispute a judgment of God. Nothing but the fear of the vengeance of dark powers can make any one speak the truth. The lie is all the deeper rooted in the life of the people that their religion is pervaded by it. The spirits are more dexterous liars and deceivers than the living. Even the ancestors, who, in a certain sense, take a benevolent interest in the fate of their descendants, are not to be trusted. Hence, and this is the climax of the habit of lying, the deities are deceived in their very worship.[1] Lying and cheating are not wrong, but exhibitions of skill when it is a matter of gaining an advantage. The deities and demons also deceive. As the man so are his gods, and as the gods so are their worshippers.

There is much untruthfulness in Christendom certainly, and falsehood has become a sad power, even in the German nation. But, in spite of its power over individuals, the Christian conscience of the nation is against it. Lying is in direct contradiction to Christian feeling, and so long as the people hold to Christianity it will not avail to poison social relations. But animistic heathenism furnishes the lie with papers of legitimation, for it belongs to the system. It is not merely individuals who lie, everybody does so without any public conscience reacting against it. The reason is, that animistic religion is itself a lie. Whatever true ideas it contains in no way changes that. Truth is only where there is a right relation to God. Heathenism has perverted the rela-

[1] A Battak heathen, whom a missionary called to account for his wickedness, and pointed to the final judgment of God, answered, "I will play God a trick."

tion to God; it is thereby placed on a false basis, and given up to lies. The perversion of the relation to God has made religious worship, prayer, morality, all the relations of men to each other, and to the surrounding world, inwardly false. Nothing but a relation of man to God, grounded on truth, can make human life true. But heathenism has not this true foundation, and so does not know the way to truth. It cannot of itself overcome this power of falsehood. God alone can give back to people thus misled the truth which they have lost.

Heathenism is Godlessness, and cannot but be given up to the dominion of lies. We do not mean by that, that God is an unknown conception in Animism, and that there is no attraction towards Him. A longing and seeking for God runs through the animistic heathen world like a vein of gold in the dirty rock. Spite of all polytheistic, spiritistic or pantheistic overgrowths, there is no heathen religion in which there does not lie hid some dim presentiment of a deity who is of greater importance than all other deities and spirits. Religious questions are the real impelling powers which determine the development of life in animistic heathendom. And those mission-workers, who are unable to discover ideas of God in heathenism, amid all its errors, commit a serious mistake.

Everywhere in the Indian Archipelago we come upon the idea of a supreme Deity behind the motley multitude of gods and demons. We have already seen how the Battaks thought of Debata (God) as above the five upper gods and the host of nature deities and spirits.[1] However little they trouble themselves about this vague idea, yet their religious feeling is rooted in it. We are also assured that other polytheistic peoples feel this drawing to God. The negroes of Central, and West Coast, Africa, as well as the Kaffirs, know of a supreme God. The Supreme Being worshipped by the Ewe negro is called Mawu, "He who is excelled by nothing." An old chief said to the missionary Spieth, "If

[1] P. 34.

there is any one in my village who does not, every morning on rising from his mat, pour out water on the earth and say, 'O, God Sodza, possessor of flesh, grant me this day my food, and grant that I remain in life,' he is not a man. When we go to the field to break up the soil with the hoe we say beforehand, 'Mawu, God.'" But the worship of the Supreme God is thrust into the background by the lower gods and demons. The Washamba are aware of a Supreme God, also the Waganda, the Congo negro, the Sudan negro, the Herero, the people of Madagascar, and the Bush negroes of Suriname. Speaking from his own experience among the Kols Jellinghaus says, "I have come to see more and more that all heathen know that God is, and that if a dozen heathen of the most diverse kinds were to find themselves among Mohammedans or Christians, and to listen to their talk about God and God's dispensations, it would seem to them as self-evident that God is one and the same for all, as that there is only one sun. This God, Singbonga, is alone the true God, whose existence the heart of the Kol is still capable of feeling. But this inherited faith exercises little influence on the life."

These testimonies could be increased to any extent from books on the history of religion, and from missionary literature. Stosch, in summing up the results of his inquiry, says: "The unity of God is part of the contents of the natural conscience. In spite of all pantheistic and polytheistic obscurings, in spite of all confusion of erroneous belief and fear of demons, a remnant of the consciousness of God has been preserved among all peoples. And this remnant is capable of life."

This belief in God must not, of course, be called monotheism. It is not the possession of the one God, but a mere dim perception shining through the haze of belief in spirits, a dim memory of something better than the present, and a longing for it that mostly does not even become conscious. The presentiment of God scarcely influences religious thought, and has no influence at all on the religious shaping of the life, though it is in contradiction with present-day religious

practices. One has no interest in the unknown God. The heart of the heathen is like a palimpsest, the original writing of which is written over and become unseen. No one knows anything of the words of wisdom covered over there.[1]

It is sometimes said that this purer idea of God could be gained only after long development. Beginning with animistic beliefs the peoples advanced, under the pressure of fear, to the worship of animals and ancestors; from that to the worship of nature, out of which grew the gods; and then, through a richer polytheism, they worked their way up to the gradually refined idea of the one God. This hypothesis contradicts the picture of real heathenism which every one gets, from familiarity with it, who does not look at it through coloured spectacles. The idea of God is not a development from spirit worship, but is a contradiction of any such development. It is a foreign body in the animistic world of beliefs. It is opposed to the nature deities, to the conception of the soul as an all-matter, to demons and ancestors who have taken the power out of God's hands. It is opposed also to the inexorable fate which banishes God from the world, that is to say, it is opposed to all the factors that determine the animistic religious life. When we see how the heathenism of to-day rejects the idea of God; how the whole religious machinery is driven by the demons; how the priests, the leaders of the religious life, mock the original ideas of religion by magic and barter; how all things are brought under the ban of a deadening tradition, and how no one among them really digs deeper or strives further;—when we see all this we cannot believe that it is a process of development that is going on, but rather a process of decomposition.

How do we know that the original beginnings of human religion are contained in Animism and demon worship? The judgment of Soderblom is: "We must not believe that the religion of the lower uncivilised peoples and tribes is a faithful picture of the earliest religion. Though these

[1] *Cf.* Jellinghaus, "Die Kols," p. 64 Amn.: "The common essence of heathenism is not a denying of God . . . but an ignoring of Him in the worship of natural powers and mysterious demonic powers through magic and magical sacrifices and ceremonies."

peoples have no history, yet many thousands of years have not passed over them and left no trace. In some cases it can plainly be seen that their usages and beliefs mark a fall from a more childlike, but purer and stronger, religious conception. That is especially the case with those tribes and peoples among whom sorcery and magic have completely stifled the religious sense of reverence and trust." If the spirit worship that prevails among the Animists were the oldest religion of mankind from which every other religion was developed by a long and laborious process, how could these religions, which represent the initial stage of development, derive any nourishment, in that initial stage, from the idea of a supreme God, who, *ex hypothese*, should be the last member of a long series of acquisitions laboriously won. Why does the Indonesian, when in great distress, flee to God, of whom, according to that hypothesis, he should have no knowledge whatever. How is it that, in taking an oath, the Animist appeals to God. That is forestalling his development indeed. It is a fact that he has the idea of God; but the fact that this idea is but dimly apprehended proves that we are not dealing with a new idea victoriously opening up new paths. The idea of God has proven unfruitful in the development of their moral and religious life. It is like a precious, but fragile, ornament packed away in the very bottom of a trunk, which the members of the family scarcely ever see and which they never use. The Animism of to-day gives us the impression of a religion that carries the marks of a fall, of a worship no longer understood and become an empty ceremony. Former generations reflected on problems of the supernatural; they clothed in myths and names of gods their astonished reverential thoughts about the inconceivable powers of sun and earth. But now they repose listlessly on the inheritance of the fathers, and scarcely a trace of reverence can be found.[1]

[1] It seems probable, at any rate, that there must have been a time when our Shambala had a better understanding of the meaning and significance of all the formulas and ceremonies which they now thoughtlessly use. The original essence of the religion of the Kamba did not consist in this belief in spirits and its religious practices. That is not only proved by the fact that

The Battaks have been deeply influenced by the Hindus who ruled the coasts of Sumatra. That is proved by their language, which is mixed with Sanscrit words; by their writing, which springs from the same source; by the names of the gods and the remains of some temples. Now should not the higher Indian religion have fructified the lower Battak one had that lower religion been in a state of development? But that has in no way taken place. On the contrary, the Battak Animism has dragged down to its lower level the ideas of God imported from India. The words that were taken direct from the Sanscrit have entered into the service of sorcery. All deeper thoughts have perished. Mohammedanism even, with its higher idea of God, cannot introduce into the heathenism which it influences any development for the better. The heathen, who have passed over to Islam, quietly retain their demon worship. Instead of the purer idea of God raising them, they drag it down to their own filth, a proof of the tremendous down-drag which animistic religions possess.

Many heathen peoples have legendary reminiscences of a better state of things when men were in intercourse with God, and were happier than they now are. Even savages of a low type dream of a vanished golden age. We have already mentioned that the Battaks believe that heaven was once nearer and more accessible than it now is. The Niassers call the second of the eight stories which are found above the earth the golden, whence came their forefathers. The natives of Molucca, the Toradja on Celebes, the Olongadju on Borneo, maintain that heaven

unintelligent observance of ceremonies and symbolical acts is always a sign of religious decadence, but is confirmed by the previous existence of a purer idea of God, the Almighty Creator of heaven and of earth (Brutzer). The worship of the gods in the upper world and that of the forces of nature, in a word, the mythological worship of God, is driven into the background by the worship of ancestors. That is undoubtedly a retrogression. It means that the worship has never risen to a feeling that could satisfy the heart. It is as if the cultus could never raise itself above fear and awe (Adriani, "Mittel-Celebes," p. 52).

was formerly nearer earth. The same belief is also found in the South Sea. The Kols declare that men at first were innocent, and became wicked later. Singbonga therefore sent a great flood, which destroyed all men save two.[1] A legend of the Alfurus in Minahassa tells that formerly the gods maintained active intercourse with men, and the earth was full of blessing till the guilt of a daring man brought all intercourse to an end; now one vainly seeks for any trace of that blessing on the earth. The Toradja declare that in former days men did not die. When they became old they simply got a new skin, like the serpents, and with it a new life and youthful powers. Papuan legends tell of a time when men lived in heaven, and there was neither sickness nor death. But having been persuaded by a gigantic lizard to descend to this world, they could not return, and became the prey of death. The Ewe negroes declare that men in olden times lived longer and were more happy. Heaven was then quite near to earth, but God moved heaven far away, because men, after eating, wiped their dirty fingers on heaven, and struck God in the face with their implements, or, according to another tradition, molested Him with smoke. Those legends express grief for a lost good.

In former days there were no priests as mediators between gods, spirits, and men. Their appearance upon the scene relieves the individual of the necessity of dealing with the deities. The priest undertakes that for all. But superstition is intensified thereby, and heathenism poisoned by sorcery and magic. Formerly, when each man was his own priest, religion was simpler and religious exercises more inward, because more a personal matter. The appearance of the priest and magician, to whom the work of divine worship is now committed, and from whom all religious knowledge is obtained, bears witness to a lowering of religious needs.

[1] A legend of a flood is found among many peoples, such as the Karens, the Santals, the Papuans, the Sambesi.

The study of heathen language also makes us see that the religions of uncivilised peoples are not struggling upwards, but are degenerating. The religious vocabulary of the Battak language is very rich, but in part so obsolete that even the priests do not altogether understand it. The religious ideas which those terms express must have been richer in earlier days. The heathenism of to-day manages to get on with a reduced capital of words. The result to which Büttner was led by the study of the languages of Africa is that everything which can be regarded as traditional custom proves that these people are still going down, and that their former condition was relatively more perfect. Thus we find that in repeated attempts to fix the existing vocabulary, many of those missing higher ideas were existent in former times, and many such words, almost vanished from general speech, are yet found at times in the mouths of old people.

The history of all heathen religions is the history of their fall! Stosch, speaking of the higher religions of India, says: "In the religions of civilised peoples, whose documents reach back many thousands of years, there is perceptible the law of a development which is not to life but to death. They move not in ascending but in descending lines. In earlier times pantheism had brighter colours. There was in it something of a longing for the light. Now its colours are darker, and the longing for the light, though still there, has become more hopeless. Any one who studies the pantheism prevalent in India to-day will find himself in presence of the dark world of demons. In earlier times the religion seemed only to play with this world. Now it has fallen into its power. It would be a great mistake to suppose that it is only some of the lower castes who have yielded to demon-worship. All religious usages are ruled by it more or less, especially the public worship. Indian pantheism has thus been transformed into a spectre producing fear and dread. The decadence can hardly go deeper. To-day efforts are being made in India to bring in again the religion of earlier days; that is the best proof

that the original religion is believed to have been purer than that of the present."[1]

The Buddhism of to-day also is not what it once was. In further India, nay, even in Ceylon, in Thibet, China and Japan it has, in order to maintain its existence, entered into an unhappy union with the nature religions of the peoples it has influenced, and has approved their worship of idols and ancestors. Confucius did not see anything in the old Chinese religion that could be improved by development, but desired to conserve the old, which he deemed the more perfect. Reformers of a religion have something of the prophet about them. They are not the natural fruits of the development that is inherent in the religion, but men who set themselves to resist its degeneration. Every reformer and the reformation for which he fought is followed by a relapse. All human religions obey the law of the attraction of the earth.[2]

A dispassionate study of heathen religions confirms the view of Paul that heathenism is a fall from a better knowledge of God. In earlier days humanity had a greater treasure of spiritual goods. But the knowledge of God's eternal power and divinity was neglected. The Almighty was no longer feared or worshipped; dependence upon Him was renounced; and this downward course was continued till nothing but a dim presentiment of Him was left. The creature stepped into the place of the Creator, and the vital-power, the soul-stuff, and the spirits of the dead came to be

[1] The middle and lower classes of India are already so impregnated with the worship of spirits, of fetiches, and the crassest superstition, that its book religions can offer no resistance to the gradually increasing fetichism. The most that it can do is to cover the latter with a deceptive whitewash. It is no longer polytheism or idolatry, but wild superstition, witchcraft surrounding and dominating everything, immorality, fear and social misery, that predominate in the practical life of all these peoples, in China and India, no less than in Africa (Wagner, "Die heidnischen Kulturreligionen und Fetischismus," pp. 81-99).

[2] Mohammedanism also is in process of decomposition. Even the Jewish and Christian religions have stamped the down-drag on their adherents, as is proved by the history of Israel and the Christian Church. God Himself must interpose in times of degeneration and work against the law of gravity.

worshipped. Men went so far as to worship the sub-human, the devilish, and were given up to blind fear of the object of their worship. The religious fall was followed by a moral fall. The proverbs, the fables, the ideas of justice, that have been handed down from earlier times prove that the moral standing of animistic peoples was higher then than now. The nations, in proportion as their religious views turned away from God, lost the organ for morality, and sank into the most inhuman abominations and barbarities. Thus to be given up to the lowest instincts is regarded by scripture as the punishment of religious apostasy.

The idols, gods made by men, come between God and man. The roots of life are poisoned by fear of demons and by idolatry. Men make for themselves a real connection with what is non-existent—a caricature of that communion with God for which man is destined (*κοινωνοὶ τῶν δαιμονίων*). Whether the demons have reality or not, they become real to men in proportion as men estrange themselves from God. As Stosch says: "In comparison with the true idea of God the gods are pure nullities." But behind these nullities the idolater sees the sinister world of demons.

The heathen, in spite of their dim sense of the Supreme God, have no connection with Him. The way to Him is barred by the spirits and demons. The Battaks think of the Debata as far away. He scarcely gives a thought to men, and there is no way to Him. The prayers are addressed to lower deities and spirits. The Niasser thinks thus of his far away Lowalangi. It is said of the Kols that the essential, nay, the exclusive influence upon their thought, feeling and action, comes not from the worship of Singbonga, but from belief in an endless number of evil spirits, the so-called Bongas. They acknowledge it themselves when they say that "We have no need to worship Singbonga, who is much too good and does no evil, but we must worship the Bongas, who seek our life." The Shambala have no relation to Malunga, the Creator. They have forgotten God. The spirits have thrust themselves between God and His children, and holds them in bondage through the fear of death. No

Washamba has any doubt of God's existence, but they find it frightfully difficult to approach Him. The Ewe call their God Mawu, good and wise, and even look on Him as an avenger of evil, but He is to them "a far off, hidden God, of whom only this much is known, that He once permitted uninterrupted intercourse with men, but then withdrew to an infinite distance from them because of their guilt." They do not shrink from calling Him dishonest, because He also created evil, and He does not always act justly, since He has dowered man with death. If you ask a Herero why he does not worship God and sacrifice to Him, he answers, "We do not need to fear Him, for He does us no harm, as our ancestors do." They share the view of another Bantu tribe, the Ndjambi, that the good Creator has withdrawn to heaven, and left the government of earth to the demons. The missionary Richards asked some Congo negroes, "Who created these fruit trees?" and they answered, "Nsambi."—"Where does Nsambi dwell?"—"Kunasulu"—that is, in heaven. He then asked further, "Who created all these things?" and again they answered, "Nsambi, the great Nsambi."—"But why, then, do you not worship and thank Nsambi?"—"O, He does not trouble Himself about us. He does not love us. No doubt He created all things, but then He went away and asks no more about us."

The belief in a great God who created the world, but then withdrew to His private estates and left the government of the world to subordinate deities, is common to all the Bantu peoples. The Waganda call the great spirit Katonda, that is, the Creator, but they trouble themselves very little about Him. The Soudan and Bantu negroes practise essentially the same demon worship. They have preserved, from olden times, the idea of the one God who is over all and who dwells in heaven, but they fear Him less than the spirits whom yet they deem subordinate to Him, and whom they designate by another name than the God in heaven. The Bush negroes in Suriname know of a God in heaven, who created all things, but He is far away, unapproachable, and without interest or sympathy for the inhabitants of earth. The natives of

Madagascar have the name of God constantly on their lips, but this belief in God is not a living faith; every conceivable thing receives divine worship, so that their religion has degenerated into the grossest fetichism.

The heathen consciousness is also without any living sense of God as a determining moral power. Only the fear of consequences and of entanglements keeps them from wrong-doing.[1] If, among most Indonesian peoples, there is any mention of a Judge who in the other world decides whether souls be allowed to go into the kingdom of the dead, this Judge is not supposed to ask about the good or evil doings of the dead, but whether he was brave and generous (*i.e.* rich), and whether he had begotten children. This Judge, moreover, is not God, and has no connection with Him. None of their current rules about right and wrong are traced back to God.

In animistic heathenism God is hardly conceived of as a person. He is not a living mighty God. He is entirely eclipsed by almighty fate. It is not God who apportions man's destiny; the soul chooses its destiny for itself from the general store in the pre-existent state.[2] The lot of man is thereby fixed in its minutest details, and no God can in any way change it. In the Mohammedan conception Almighty God stands behind fate; in the conception of the Animist fate is a more mighty and a more fearful God than He who is called by that name. The life of the heathen is not in God's hands. Why should a man trouble himself about this powerless God? It is of no use praying to Him, for He cannot change man's lot.[3] Though, in the formulas of prayer, God is invoked alongside the spirits, that is just one of the inconsequences wherein animistic religion so abounds.

[1] Thieves do not hesitate to pray to God for success in stealing. The Ewe say: "Every black man prays to God before he steals." Before the thief steals anything he says, "May God help me" (Spieth).

[2] When a Battak meets with misfortune it is said: That was what his soul desired, viz., before his birth.

[3] A Battak tale speaks of a cripple who forced his way to God in the upper world, and besought Him to give him a well-formed body. But, as his form had been predetermined, God, notwithstanding His compassion and readiness to help, could make no change.

We meet with determinism among many animistic nations. The peoples of the Indian Archipelago have all fallen into it. The people of Nias believe in a pre-existence of souls, souls not so much in a personal state as in a kind of general stock or store. From that store souls are weighed out to every man by Balin, the son of Lowalangi. Every man on entering into life is asked before his birth what weight or continuance of soul he wants, what else he wants to have on earth, what kind of death he desires, etc. The heaviest share of soul given out weighs about ten grammes, and whoever wishes and receives that reaches a considerable age. Those who die in childhood had asked for a light soul. For this reason when any one dies it is said, what he asked for is gone. If a man dies an unusual death it is said, what does it matter, he willed it, he asked for it. The Toradja suppose that the Creator forges men with different hammers, that every hammer produces a definite destiny, and that men are given their choice of hammers. Among the Tontemboan in Minahassa, different destinies are indicated by different long-burning matches. The sea Dayaks believe that man's life is correspondent with the growth of a flower in soul land; if this flower languishes the man perishes. The Kols say that the destiny of every man is written on his skull before his birth. In Bettigeri (South Mahratta), an old woman, when asked by Meyer the missionary if she were not a sinner, answered, "That depends upon my fate." In the region of Honor (Kanara) it is a standing phrase, "How can we venture to change our religion so long as God withholds from us the will and the power to do so." The Ewe think of men's souls as pre-existent in the other world with the "Mother of Spirits" who bore them. Thence, at her wish, they go to earth, but must fix a time when they shall return. This "personal engagement" (gbetsi) follows the living man, and constrains him to return to the other world at the time promised. If he is not willing to fulfil his promise he becomes ill and dies. Man brings with him to the world a finished, unknown, and unchangeable character. His actions are therefore justified

by his inborn character. The Ewe are wont to say every man has his own character. The bad man is excused. The gods have denied him the good; or, that is just my nature obtained from the home of souls.

This wide-spread fatalism, found also in the heathenism of Christendom, destroys the idea of God. It is impossible that a purer concept should in course of time be developed from a heathenism determined by fatalism, for fatalism can have nothing but a destructive influence on religion.

The animistic heathen are, in point of fact, ἄθεοι, without God, not in the sense of the fool who says there is no God; not even in the sense of the evil-doer who, to sin undisturbed, has, against the witness of his conscience, burned the thought of God out of his soul. They have lost God and are ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ (Eph. iv. 18). Between them and Him there has grown up a thick primeval forest, through which they can no longer find their way, and which they have no power to root up. But if, notwithstanding this estrangement, there is still buried away in their hearts a dim sense of the Power who ruleth over all, then the glad message of the living God may hope to find a responsive echo in heathenism. The small, languishing plant of their god-lore is incapable of development; but the emptied name of God may be filled with a contents which heathenism can never give.

Another thing we must take note of in order to understand the full depth of heathendom's estrangement from God is its subjection to the dominion of devilish powers. The animistic heathen are not only in error, they are slaves. They are bound by three fetters—fear, demon worship, and fate. Fear, in various forms, tyrannises over the Animist in every situation of life. The vision of the world in which his religiousness is rooted is extremely dark. Even his own soul is a hostile power against which he must ever be on his guard. It is fond of leaving him; it allows itself to be enticed away from him; it refuses to accept benefits for him. She who is about to become a mother is rendered miserable by fear. Her mother joy is embittered by fear of

her own soul and of the soul of her child, as well as of envious spirits. The souls of relatives are easily wounded, and woe to him who even unintentionally offends them. Primitive man has to wind his way amid the throng of the souls of the people around him, and must continually bargain or fight with invisible and sinister powers. The farmer is not only worried about the growth of his crops and the state of the weather, he has not only to guard his fields against high water, or defend them against rats, destructive beetles, and flocks of thievish birds; he is helpless also against the soul of the rice, whose moods determine whether the fruits produced by his laborious efforts shall contain nourishing power or not. It is not difficult to fight or circumvent a visible enemy, but who can defend himself against the incalculable soul? Animism seems devised for the purpose of tormenting men, and hindering them from enjoying life.

To that must be added fear of the dead, of demons, of the thousand spirits of earth, air, water, mountains, and trees. The Battak is like a man driven in a frenzied pursuit round and round. Ghosts of the most diverse kinds lurk in house and village; in the field they endanger the produce of labour; in the forest they terrify the woodcutter; in the bush they hunt the wanderer. From them come diseases, madness, death of cattle, and famine. Malicious demons surround women during pregnancy and at confinement; they lie in wait for the child from the day of its birth; they swarm round the houses at night; they spy through the chinks of the walls for their helpless victims. Gigantic spirits stride through the villages scattering epidemics around them; they lurk in the sea and rivers with the view of dragging travellers into the depths. They are not laughing fauns or mocking satyrs, but merciless messengers of death, enemies swollen with envy, who would fain hurl the living into the kingdom of the dead. The dead friend and brother becomes an enemy, and his coffin and grave are the abode of terrors. It is fear that occasions the worship of the departed, and the observance of their mourning usages in its smallest details; fear dictates that host of prohibitions which surrounds every

movement of their daily life. Fear is the moving power of animistic religion, in Asia as in Africa.

This observation is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of historians of religion and of missionary literature. Thus Tiele says, "In the religions dominated by Animism fear appears more frequently than trust. The spirits and their worshippers are both alike, self-seeking. The lower, as a rule, are more worshipped than the higher, the local more than those at a distance, the particular more than the common. Their rewards and punishments, if this point of view prevails, are not measured by the good or bad acts of men in their social life, but only by the sacrifices and gifts which are offered or withheld from them."[1] "The religions of uncivilised peoples are not exclusively, but they are chiefly, a worship of demons. Beings are worshipped who, even in the consciousness of the people themselves, are not regarded as the highest; beings inferior to God, but nearer to man, and who can do him harm. They have their abode here and there in surrounding nature; they may also be spirits of dead men."[2] The fear of demons is very plainly exhibited among the Kols: "While a surprising amount of knowledge of God is revealed in the phraseology of social and domestic life, and while many things attest a childlike, sincere, noble, and free religious sense, yet their religious usages are so perverted, unspiritual, and opposed to all true religion, that they can be described by no other name than superstition. Fear, or ordinary self-interest, is the cause of all that takes place. One really comes to see that fear of sinister supernatural powers is the essence and central force of heathenism, together with the belief that good and evil powers can be made favourable and submissive by means of magic and of sacrifice."[3] "The superstition of the Kols, and their fear of demons, are shown in their belief that almost every mountain, river, pond, road, or village has an evil Bonga (demon, devil) who seeks to inflict all kinds of injury, and

[1] Tiele, "Kompendium," p. 22.
[2] P. Wurm, "Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte," p. 94.
[3] Jellinghaus, "Die Kols," p. 33 f.

who torments people through their great eagerness for offerings." The Kols, naturally so cheerful and joyous, often get a dark, desperate look under the burden of their sacrifices to demons, and, in their desperation, take to drink. The whole life of the Kols is interwoven with fear of evil spirits. They feel themselves threatened by them everywhere, for their number is legion. Fear of the Bongas deprives them of all courage, and cripples their power. The life of the inhabitants of Nias is dominated by fear of the spirits of their ancestors. The Dayaks of Borneo are impelled, by fear, to worship evil spirits (saniang, Hantu), and are afraid of the spirits of the dead. The Mentawey Islanders are afraid of the Sianitu, evil demons, who are appeased by sacrifices. The Alfurus on Celebes are afraid of evil spirits, especially the spirits of the dead. The Sumbanese are completely dominated by the same fear. The Papuans worship ancestors, and also dreaded spirits, of whom the number is very great. The Karens in further India, and the inhabitants of the Bismarck Archipelago, are dominated by the same fear of spirits. Among the Hindus also the power of heathenism consists not only in the spirit of caste, but also in this belief in sorcery, spells, maledictions, and disenchantments by the directions of the brahminical books.

Fear also rules in the religions of Africa, whose spirit worship is closely related to Indonesian Animism. In West Africa all diseases are traced back to evil spirits, of whom the world is full. The worship of the Ewe is given to the spirits, and is determined by fear, as the spirits have always evil designs against men. Wurm says that the Soudan and Bantu negroes practise the same demon worship. The more they fear ancestors and the Losango, the evil spirits, the less they fear God. From these ancestors and evil spirits comes all evil. The Dinka (in Soudan) live in constant fear of the Jork, evil spirits, who are supposed to dwell in trees, in the jungle, and other places. The Herero believe that evil spirits have the government of this earth. Thus, in every misfortune and distress, the Herero are afraid of the dangerous influence of their ancestors, and have an enormous number

of sacrifices, whose sole motive is the fear of spirits. The sacrifices at birth, circumcision, and confinement owe their origin and their continuance to this fear. The sacrificial cult, nay, the whole religious views and usages of the Herero are only too eloquent a testimony to the fact that of them, as of all heathen, the words of the Apostle hold good, that they are all their life-time in bondage through the fear of death. Besides the ancestors they are afraid of other dead folks, hideous evil spirits, and in every illness they see some enchantment. The Waganda are afraid of evil spirits who occupy the central place in their religious life, spirits of nature (Lubare), and spirits of ancestors (Mulimu). Hence the Waganda are in the highest degree superstitious, even the enlightened Kabaka Mtesa being no exception to this rule. Rösler, the missionary, has devoted an essay to "fear in the life of the Shambala," in which he shows that the religious life of the Shambala is entirely determined by fear.[1] Above all they are afraid of the envious, malicious dead. "For he (the ancestor spirit) is greedy, and takes a pleasure in hurting men, visiting them and their cattle with all manner of disease, with locusts and small-pox, and in bringing misfortune on the land." That is how matters stand among all Bantu tribes. We read of the Kamba, "The influence which they (the dead) exercised when in the body continues, nay, it seems as if the power of the dead over the life of his descendants is greater than when he lived, and it is greater there the greater it was here upon earth. The main point is that the spirits are jealously determined not to be overlooked. They demand their share of all that is going, especially in joyous events, else they will bring misfortune on their descendants." The Bush negroes of Suriname are enslaved by fear and worship of the spirits of the departed (Jorkas).

It is a dismal picture that is unrolled before our eyes, every heathen a slave of fear, with no joy in life, but bondage everywhere. But fear reigns beyond the bounds of

[1] Trittelvitz says on this subject: "Among the Shambala, as among the Bantu peoples, fear of the dead, and of death, is the characteristic mark of their religion."

the low animistic religions. The deeper religious speculations of the civilised peoples of Asia have failed to drive away this spectre. A highly educated Hindu, a Tamul interpreter of the Kural, depicts the feelings that seize him who approaches an idol. His hair stands up through fear; tears flow from his eyes, and his body trembles. Earnest Tamuls assure us that they themselves have experienced this dread.

Nitschkowsky says that the ancestor worship of the Chinese is inspired by fear, not by piety, fear of the vengeance of the ancestors. The rulers of the other world are the demons, and the dead are their captives. Like the prisoners of this world these must be supported by their friends. The necessity for ancestor worship is based on this foundation.

At the general conference of missionaries at Shanghai, D. Faber advanced this thesis. Ancestor worship presupposes that the happiness of the dead is dependent on the offerings of their living descendants, and that all those departed souls who are not provided with offerings become hungry spirits, who cause all kinds of misfortune to the living. Ancestor worship is not a mere remembrance of the departed, but an intentional intercourse with the spirit world, with the powers of Hades and of darkness. It undermines belief in a righteous retribution of God in the future, and excites the animal nature of man, as also selfishness and fear, more than the nobler emotions of love.[1]

The fact that Buddhism has failed to root out this fear and ancestor worship from among its adherents, shows how deeply its roots have struck into the heart of those heathen who worship demons and spirits. Buddhist monks help to expel the evil spirits, and, in their cloisters, registers of ancestors are exhibited to whom gifts are to be offered. It

[1] The root of the filial piety which is practised by the Chinese must be a mixture of the two mightiest motives of the human soul, fear and self-love. The spirits must be honoured, because of their power to injure. If the offerings are neglected the spirit is enraged, and meditates revenge. Hence it is safer to worship the spirits.

is not really Buddhism that moves the heart of the simple Singalese, but his old worship of nature and of demons. Buddhism has done nothing to remove these; rather, by its mythological elements, it has furnished all kinds of helps to preserve them. The people of Ceylon have from the earliest times believed in the activity of all kinds of demons (sanne), who are responsible for every misfortune, every case of sickness, every dangerous phenomenon. This belief in demons is, to this hour, the only religious power which the people really feel. It has united itself with Hindu notions as well as with ideas and forms from Buddhism. But these two religions have only been the means of introducing new classes of demons, of inventing new instruments of expulsion, and providing new magical formulas. It is the old fear of nature, the old belief in spirits, that really dominates the ordinary man. In Burmah also, where Buddhism has struck its roots deeper into the life of the people, it has failed to become the dominant religious force. On the contrary, the foreground is occupied by the worship of the Nat,[1] personifications of natural forces, and of the spirits of the dead. They dwell in gloomy places, and are very dangerous to men. Their worship is the real religion which steadfastly engages the heart of the overwhelming majority of the Burmese people. Even the Buddhist monks engage in this worship of spirits. The same picture is descriptive of the Siamese. The Buddhism of Thibet also (Lamaism) fears a multitude of nature deities, demons and spectres. The desire to save the soul from hell and lead it to paradise is one of the great levers of Lamaistic piety. Another still more effective lever is the fear of evil spirits. The dread of dangerous and awful demons exists to a most unusual degree. Sacrifices are offered to sinister demons after sunset. The monks exorcise the spirits.

Mohammedanism also, in Northern India, has been unable to remove the fear of evil spirits. On the contrary, it assists

[1] The Nat, or Nats, are embodiments of natural forces, good, and especially evil, spirits to be propitiated. See Monier Williams, "Buddhism," pp. 255, 259, 217.

in the expulsion of the spirits by its malims.[1] It allows the people to go on worshipping ancestors, and adds new spirits of Arabic origin to those already worshipped. Islam nowhere appears among Animists as a deliverer.

For us who know that we are safe in God's hands, it is impossible to imagine what a dreadful power this fear is in the life of the heathen. There we see revealed the kernel of real heathenism, and all its theology and mythology are but the shell enclosing it. With this fetter every Animist is bound. The incessant fear of demons, and of their evil plots, and of the sorcery closely connected with their worship, by which these people are tormented, passes our conceiving. Alienation from God, who alone is to be feared, is the ultimate basis of this irrational fear. Heathenism has lost God, and, consequently, has been given up to the fear of spectres, whose power is real just in proportion to the estrangement from God.

The fear of spirits is intensified by the authority of priests and magicians, who are supposed to cultivate fellowship with the spirits, and to have power over them. The magician tyrannises over the Battak. Whatever he demands must be paid, whatever he arranges must be carried out. For he knows how to injure or strengthen the souls of the living, by restraining or letting loose the spirits. He is a man greatly dreaded among most peoples of the Archipelago. The sway of the magician in Africa is still more pernicious. Whomsoever they accuse of witchcraft is condemned to death. They work in secret with a frightful venom, and no one is safe from them.

The heathen world furnishes an example of how surely fear debases men. Men of fearless character are mostly noble-minded; the fearful are cruel. Surrounded by fell powers of destruction, the animistic heathen grow distrustful and cruel. Fear poisons every social relationship, distrust becomes a second nature to the harassed. The poor fear the

[1] The malims are the lowest order of Mohammedan teachers. Their intelligence is not great, but they have great influence with the people, and are zealous missionaries of Islam.

rich, the weak the strong, the sick the healthy, for each knows that the other is trying to enrich his own soul power at the expense of his fellow. But those whom no one needs to fear are mercilessly trodden under foot. In Nias, Celebes, Borneo, the lands of the head-snatcher, no one knows whether by evening he will still have his head upon his shoulders. At the death of a chief hundreds tremble for their lives, for the prince cannot be buried without human sacrifices. Among animistic peoples every case of sickness and of death leads to the magician's search for the unfortunate being who is supposed to have bewitched the afflicted.[1] What an immense amount of fear is involved in witchcraft, head-snatching, human sacrifice, burial ceremonies, and kindred animistic abominations. Cruelty is everywhere one of the fruits of Animism; from that fruit we can infer the nature of the tree. How sweetly must sound the words peace and rest on the ears of these poor souls in bondage, for in animistic heathendom there is no such thing as security or peace.

To the heathen these demons whom they fear are realities. God has become an abstraction, but they have personal contact with the demons. It is worth noting what Stosch says about the Hindu who denies all reality. "One of the most wonderful things on an earth so full of wonders is, that among a people who, educated and uneducated alike, doubt the reality of all things, no one doubts the reality of evil powers."[2] Questioned about God and divine things, Animists will always admit that they know nothing definite about them, but if asked whether evil spirits really exist, they will unhesitatingly answer yes, surprised that such a strange question should be put. If they were not so firmly convinced of the existence and power of the demons, they would not be so sorely tormented by fear of the spirits. Such fear is not to be trifled with. Battaks who become Christian have no doubt of the reality of the demons. They explain the matter n this way. Heathenism teaches us the power of the spirits.

[1] This is done in Mentawey and in many regions of Africa.

[2] Stosch, "Im fernen Indien," p. 214.

The devil is the personification of the power opposed to God; it was he who deceived our forefathers and persuaded them to idolatry. In worshipping the spirits we were ignorantly worshipping Satan and his servants. The devil, as the personal head of the spirit world that is at enmity with God, became popular among the Battak people in a surprisingly short time. Heathen religion does not know him, but he has been intelligently appropriated, not only by Christians on whom missionaries have forced this "dark illusion," and by heathen who have come into contact with Christianity, but by heathen who are far beyond the horizon of evangelistic mission work. Heathen Christians find in him the explanation of the great blindness of their former state. A Battak teacher, writing on the subject, says: The devil is just what we formerly called begu. He has overreached the Battak nation, and compelled it to obey him, that so he might drag others to ruin with him. The spirit media must in some sort have been the instruments through whom he expressed his wishes. For people who were naturally dull and stupid could, as media, speak clearly and cleverly. It was he who taught the magicians their arts, and enabled them to effect things marvellous and inexplicable. The Niassers who have been converted to Christianity call their heathen religion "the way of the devil," [1] and the Kols do very much the same.[2] A Battak teacher expresses his opinion of the activity of the magician as follows: "The datu knew how to recover stolen goods, and sometimes how to find the thief. They were able to bring sickness on a man by digging up his footprints. There were magicians who called forth serpents and set them against their enemies. When I think upon their arts I will not venture to say that it was all mere human bungling. There must have been some one who taught them, and that one was the devil."

It is suggestive to find that the judgment of heathen Christians to-day agrees with that of the early Church. Both had experienced the might of heathen religion in their

[1] Sundermann, "Nias," p. 173, 175.
[2] Jellinghaus, "Die Kols," p. 172.

own bodies, and both saw in it the operation of spiritual powers of a Satanic kind. Tertullian, Justin, Tatian, Cyprian are convinced that behind the idols of the heathen the demons are at work, and that these demons are a power in the life of the individual as well as in the life of society. They persuade men to believe in the heathen gods. Tertullian describes their pernicious workings. They destroy men; they bring upon them diseases and convulsions of soul; they ruin the fruits of the field; they lead men to polytheism. Because they are swift in their movements, they are able to foretell many things that will happen, and to send dreams. "Everywhere it is regarded as the chief contrivance of their wickedness that they introduced polytheism, that is, caused themselves to be worshipped under the images of dead idols, and turned to their own advantage the sacrifices whose vapour they relish." [1] Hence idolatry is the supreme sin and the source of all others,[2] a statement which is undoubtedly correct, inasmuch as every intellectual and moral error of the heathen has its basis in religious error. One of the main evidences of the truth and power of Christianity was the casting out of devils in the name of Jesus, which the Christian apologists turned to account as a convincing proof of the truth of their faith.[3] It was believed then, as it is believed in heathendom to-day, that wherever Christians make their appearance the strength of the Satanic powers is broken. We shall speak of this further on. Here it is sufficient to say that the Christians of the first days, like the heathen Christians in the mission fields of to-day, though they knew that they themselves were free from those influences, nay were able to mock and challenge the devil, took a very serious view of idolatry. They knew its sinister power was something real. They did not believe that heathenism could be considered merely a lower stage of the knowledge of God which only needed to be further developed. On the contrary

[1] Harnack, "The Mission and Expansion of Christianity," 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 138, note 1.

[2] Harnack, *l.c.*, p. 292, note 2.

[3] Harnack, *l.c.*, p. 139.

they viewed it as opposition and enmity to God, a bondage to devilish powers endowed with a power of misguidance, lying, and seduction. The testimony of those who have renounced heathenism, and who know its power from experience, deserves, at least, as much attention as the theories of philosophies of religion.

The judgment of heathen Christians, in the old world as in the new, confirms the statements of the Bible about the power of Satan, to whom God has assigned a place in His plan of the world, and granted a certain government of this æon. Jesus calls him the prince of this world.[1] Paul calls him *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*.[2] Dominion over evil spirits is part of the Divine legitimation of the Son. To destroy the works of Satan, viz., the estrangement of man from God, which he has systematically promoted, is the work of the Son of God (1 John iii. 8). The great missionary to the heathen, speaking from his own experience, calls the powers of heathenism that are at work behind the scenes *ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, τοὶ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐνουρανίοις* (Eph. vi. 12), principalities, powers, the world rulers of this darkness, supernatural powers who systematically organise wickedness and direct it to one end. Paul calls the ruler of heathenism *τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας*, the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience. He inspires the spirit of disobedience towards God, which has become a world power in heathenism.[3] But that does not imply any dualism, for their mysterious power is transmitted to the demons by God. God sends *ἐνέργεια πλάνης*,[4] which constrains men to believe a lie. Jesus has divested the principalities of their authority, and made an open show of the former rulers (Col. ii. 15). Their dominion could only endure so long as God, in His plan of the world, had determined, viz., till His Son should bring their misleading power to an end. Paul says that the gods whom the heathen worship

[1] John xii. 31 ; xvi. 11 ; *cf.* Luke iv. 6.
[2] 2 Cor. iv. 4.
[3] Eph. ii. 2.
[4] 2 Thess. ii. 11.

are nothing; they have no existence, and the heaven which they populate has no existence, *οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς; οὐδὲν εἴδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ.*[1] There are *λεγόμενοι θεοί* in heaven and on earth, which are the gods imagined by heathen fancy. In the minds of their worshippers there are *θεοὶ πολλοί* and *κύριοι πολλοί,*[2] but they are realities only to those who believe in them. Paul calls them also *οἱ φύσει μὴ ὄντες θεοί,*[3] those who by nature are not gods, because products of the human mind. But behind the *λεγόμενοι θεοί* stand the *δαιμόνια,*[4] to whom, without knowing it, the heathen offer sacrifice, and not to the *εἰδωλα.* By their sacrifices to heathen gods, the heathen have essentially the same fellowship with demons as the Christian has with Christ through taking part in the Lord's Supper.[5] The gods of heathen fancy become powerful entities through the demons, who turn idolatry to their own advantage, and under this disguise deceive and enslave the heathen. This estimate of heathenism, which is obvious to all heathen Christians, comes from the greatest heathen missionary of all times, one who indulged in no idle speculations, but found himself compelled to deal with powers whose actual opposition was as sensibly felt as it was mysterious. He saw in heathenism forces opposed to God, a power from beneath. And any mission worker who does not sufficiently appreciate this power in heathenism will underestimate his opponent.

However that may be, whether heathenism is inspired by devilish personalities, or whether we are satisfied with purely human explanations, the enslavement of animistic heathendom under the power of the Satanic is undoubtedly real. To fear and the yoke of spirit worship must be added a third iron fetter, fatalism. Subjection to an immutable fate may seem, to the superficial observer, to have something consoling for the enslaved, to be a beneficent narcotic. In point of fact it is astonishing how soon the Animist gets over the loss of a member of the family: "It cannot be helped, it was so determined," and with that the matter is ended. But there can

[1] 1 Cor. viii. 4; x. 19. [2] 1 Cor. viii. 5. [3] Gal. iv. 8.
[4] 1 Cor. x. 20. [5] 1 Cor. x. 21.

be no thought of real comfort in that. Fatalism has something diabolic in it. It eliminates God from the world, and negates man's will, that in which he resembles God. It kills man's nobler nature, and degrades him to a piece of mechanism. Heathenism tinged with fatalism is not a religion of free moral men, but a poisoned hereditary theory of life of burdened will-less creatures. Determinists have no energy; what is the good of overworking oneself? Success and riches will fall into the bosom of the man for whom they are preordained without any effort on his part, and if they have not been allotted to him he cannot compel them. Thus prayers, reflection, and volition are killed. Moral will is destroyed, for each man gets his disposition, with its tale of good and evil deeds, at his birth. The soil wherein the human conscience grows is taken away. Men have no responsibility; they never act freely, but always by constraint. This belief lies like a dark curse on the life of the soul, making it stupid, indifferent, and immoral. But, above all, this world of ideas is thrust between man and his God, and makes God altogether superfluous. All forms of animistic heathenism are determined by fatalism,[1] as if one hand had intentionally sown this tare on the different fields.

The powers that enslave the heathen rob them of the capacity of self-determination. Born in slavish dependence upon fear, demons and fate, the heathen is incapable of reflecting on his captivity. He is bound in his religious thought, and his power of judgment is crippled by ideas of constraint. Personal decision is taken from him; he has only to observe the traditional ceremonies of the national religion. The very will for freedom is bound, just as we see in slaves whose desire for freedom is dead, notwithstanding their misery. The average heathen (and in the communistic character of animistic heathendom exceptions to the average are more rare than among civilised nations), does not reflect on the chains which cut into his flesh, and the longing for deliver-

[1] Fatalism seems to be an essential constituent of heathenism everywhere (*cf.* the Moira of the Greeks). Sufficient traces of it may be found in Christian Europe among educated and uneducated, so far as they are estranged from God.

ance from hard oppression remains for the most part below the threshold of consciousness. The longing for freedom, like the longing for God, exists in him as a rudimentary thing, but they are both shut up as in a capsule, waiting for a resurrection.

A heathendom so bound has no inherent power of self-deliverance. But it sighs for redemption by some higher power. Heathendom, just because it is bound, needs and is capable of redemption. The guilt of the individual's estrangement from God is lessened by his union with the larger whole. His relation to that resembles the share of the individual in the sins of the society into which he is born. The sins of humanity in which every man is involved, as well as the solidarity of heathenism, which makes all its adherents slaves with no will of their own, should never be judged apart from the redemption, or they will be felt to be supremely harsh and unjust. God has prepared a redemption from the ruinous connection. The man who accepts this redemption becomes free solely through God's redeeming act. The man who does not recognise it is lost, because he will not allow himself to be delivered. No one should speak of the severity and unrighteousness of the divine government who knows the unravelling of the twisted knot. The man who sees in Jesus' work redemption from all ruinous connections can frankly concede the subjection of heathenism. It is an *ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους*, that can only be overcome by a power of the light from above.

Animistic heathenism is further presented to the observer as the negation of love, as selfishness in its most barefaced form. God is love, and where in the wanderings of centuries God has been lost, love is also lost. How unspeakably poor is the godless and loveless heathen world! The idea of love is almost obliterated from its religion and its ethics. The relation of the gods to men is without love; so is men's relation to them, and, as a consequence, there is little love in men's relations to one another. The only relation in which unselfish love is manifested is that of parents to their children, though even there love is deformed in various ways.

The true parental love which desires to secure moral benefits to the child is perverted into a weak, blind partiality. The animistic notions of the soul being easily wounded, forbid all attempts to exercise an educative influence on the child.[1] Love is concentrated also on the sons who are expected to offer worship to their parents after death. Love for children is seen among many peoples,[2] general love is rarely met with. In the Indian Archipelago parents are honoured only after they are dead, because then their souls are dangerous. Married love is diverted into the sexual region.[3] The man prizes his wife because he expects descendants from her, and because in her he has bought a valuable slave. Polygamy, which is common, makes true married love impossible. There is scarcely such a thing as love of friends, though in proverbs friendship is praised. Neighbour love, with its practical results, pity for the suffering, compassion for the sick, consideration for the weak, will be sought in vain. The man who, at his own cost, would help another in difficulty or danger, is laughed at as a fool. The relations of men to one another are ruled by politeness, which is rooted, however, not in love but in fear.[4] Captives are tortured to death with incredible cruelty, nay, with voluptuous joy; debtors are allowed to rot in prison; and the sick are mercilessly left to their misery. No heathen feels anything like indignation when the mighty rob the widow of her last copper and enslave her children. They gloat with pleasure over the torments of the oppressed. It is a self-evident privilege of the great to impoverish and oppress the humble.[5] The heathen laughingly reply to missionaries,

[1] When a naughty child gets its way the parents justify themselves by saying: What can I do, he wants it?

[2] Spieth extols the sons of the Ewe, who often show great honour to their mothers ("Ewe," p. 66). The devotion of Chinese children is well known.

[3] Gloyer says of the Hindus that among them the word love has always an unclean meaning.

[4] Any one who has power gets above all considerations enjoined by politeness. A man is polite only to equals or superiors.

[5] I shall only mention one diabolical cruelty of the Battaks. A poison made up of the fine hairs of a caterpillar is put in betel or tobacco and slipped into the pocket of an enemy. The hairs fix themselves in the throat, and the

"You white men have pity (*i.e.* it is your innate character); we Battaks do not know it, and are therefore completely free from any sense of blame." You may go through heathendom anywhere, in the Indian Archipelago, in New Guinea, in the South Seas, and in Africa, and you will nowhere find humanity, mercy, kindness and love. Selfishness reigns nakedly everywhere, and self-complacency is boasted of as a virtue.[1]

This shameless selfishness and lovelessness has its roots in the animistic religion, which must be held responsible for expelling love and its gracious companions from its world. Animism is selfishness raised to a system. The first commandment of the Animist is to preserve and augment his own soul-stuff against any one in heaven or on earth, and at his expense. To rob others of their soul-stuff wherewith to enrich his own is good, because profitable; to take the life of another wherewith to strengthen his own is wisdom. No one gives love; no one asks for it. Man seeks in vain in the world of gods and spirits for love. No doubt it is said that God is merciful, and that His mercy is invoked in standing phrases. But that means nothing, for God is far away. Even the idea of God as the merciful "Grandfather," which, at any rate, betrays a deeper need, falls into the background. Fate strides on rigorous and pitiless; the selfish gods demand sacrifices and worship; and the envious spirits torment the living to extort from them reluctant gifts which the spirits need for their own well-being. Gods and spirits give only after they have abundantly received. The idea that God or gods have an unselfish

poor victim has to cough himself to death in the course of a few weeks. At cannibal feasts a piece of flesh is cut out of the living body of the man who is to be slain and roasted, and devoured before his eyes. In Samosir a chief cut off the genitals from his enemy, who was supposed to have got entangled with his wife, and left him to bleed to death.

[1] Selfishness in every form and in its most naked deformity appears among the Basutos. It is developed by the despotism of the chief, with whom the individual has to get on as best he can. It appears among them not only as vanity and ambition, but as laziness on the part of him who is serving others, stinginess and covetousness on the part of him who is working for himself (Merensky).

love for men is one that is nowhere found in animistic heathendom, and no heathen ever dreams that man can love God. At best, the gods who have no interest in the inhabitants of earth leave them to go their own way undisturbed. The lower deities, with whom men have much more to do, are conceived to be as selfish as their worshippers. Men are religious in their own interest, and out of fear. But fear and love are mutually exclusive. Wherever religion is determined by fear, love and humanity are excluded, for fear brutalises. Unconcealed selfishness, therefore, expresses the essence of animistic religion. Humanity is an idea which cannot be implanted in this heathenism; it would cast it out again. The ideas of the love of God and man can no more be developed from this heathenism than sweet grapes could be made in course of time to spring from a blackthorn tree. It cannot even be engrafted; the old tree must be uprooted and a new one planted.

Animistic heathenism is a struggle for existence sanctioned by religion, a struggle of living souls and their owners with one another, a struggle of the living with spirits, a struggle of spirits and deities with the inhabitants of earth; a distortion of men's relation to one another and to the deities, a relation determined by envy, hatred, and lovelessness. This reckless struggle is continued in the world beyond. Will the gift of the Gospel find an entrance into benighted hearts thus weaned from love?

Closely connected with this loveless selfishness of animistic heathenism is another characteristic defect, viz., its perversion of morality, the moral error and coarseness that almost everywhere belongs to it. We do not mean to say that there are no virtues in heathendom. Certain national virtues may be found among different peoples. The position of woman in the Indian Archipelago is by no means so low as might be supposed from the general custom of purchasing wives and the prevalence of polygamy. The matriarchate which secures for woman a position of influence exists on

many islands, as, for example, on Minahassa. Among the Battaks the mistress of the house has frequently an honourable place, and the word of a chief's wife has some value even in public affairs.[1] Among the Battaks and Niassers adultery is threatened with death; not for moral reasons, but because the wife, and also the betrothed, are inviolable as purchased property. The Indonesian peoples show a remarkable capacity for self-control, composure in misfortune, domesticity, hospitality, and politeness. There is scarcely any heathen people among whom may not be found one or other delightful trait. The law of many tribes with its penal code betrays a not inconsiderable sense of justice, so that, *mutatis mutandis*, it can be taken as the basis of Christian legislation among the Christianised peoples of the Indian Archipelago. No one is more delighted than the missionary, when he discovers traces of a higher morality among his people.

All the same, when we speak of a general perversion of morality among animistic peoples, we mean that the idea of morals is entirely absent, or present only in a stunted form. They have a custom, a law, a fixed usage, but no morality. There are no moral standards. They have the idea of the permitted and the forbidden, but not that of good and evil. Systematic selfishness is the recognised law; no one rules his conduct by consideration for others; every one is a law unto himself. Anything beneficial to his soul is to the Animist good. His conduct is determined by considerations of profit. The only limit to caprice is that the action must have no hurtful consequences. Accordingly, the poor man and the oppressed considers anything good that prevents him from coming into conflict with those in power. He must not meddle with their women or their property, and he must not provoke their anger by word or deed. For him politeness is "life." But all things are allowed to the mighty man who has a strong soul. In plundering his subjects, treading the poor beneath his feet, abusing their

[1] Among the Ewe, also, woman has an honourable place in the family and in public life (Spieth, *l.c.*, p. 65 f.).

wives and selling their children as slaves, he is involving himself in no evil consequences, but rather promoting his interests. But should he meet one mightier than himself, then the will of the stronger becomes his law. Morality is one thing for those at the top, and another thing for those at the bottom. The general lack of moral feeling is proved by this that every one looks on such immorality as natural, and submits to the persecutions of the rich with stoical quietness as to something inevitable; were he in their position he would do the same. There is only one restraint to which those in power give any heed, and that is the ancestors, who zealously watch over the customs established or observed in their day. But these customs are not viewed from a moral standpoint. The ancestors are not avengers of evil; they are only guardians of tradition. Tradition is thus law for the animistic heathen. Sin is simply what offends the customs which all observe.[1] Any one offering disrespect to these brings evil on himself. The custom may contain elements of moral value; it does contain these, but that does not warrant us in saying that it has a moral basis. It is a social, not a moral, order, a system of rules of conduct constructed from the national character, from peculiarities of the land and climate, from the occupations and political institutions of the people, from egoism and all kinds of opportunist considerations. The good and the evil, the attractive and the repellent, cross one another, and are equally legitimate. The custom forbids stealing to one and commends it to another. It compels one to walk carefully according to apparent moral rules, and allows another brutally to cast aside every moral restraint. The determining factor is not morality but opportunism.

The shaping of the custom is dependent on the animistic

[1] The only sin is for a man to leave the religion of his fathers. Horo is regarded by the Niassers as nothing more in principle than a transgression of their Huku (custom), and head-snatching is not considered by the heathen Niasser to be sin, but the reverse. When the Huku of the Niassers seems to coincide with the contents of one of the ten commandments, as, *e.g.*, in *puncto sexti*, the crime is not worthy of death because it is felt to be a sin against God, but because it is a violation of national law.

world of thought. After all, religion is the mother of custom, and therefore of morality. No one familiar with animistic spirit worship will be surprised at the perversion of the moral idea. The animistic world of ideas produces human sacrifices, cannibalism, prosecution of witches, abominations of sorcery, blood revenge, head-hunting, the killing of twins, cruelty to a woman dying in child-bed, and such infamies. All these are means of protecting or enriching one's own soul. No heathen will admit that he is committing a wrong in doing these things. Animism leads to the depreciation of human life, which in turn produces blood-thirstiness and a bias towards diabolical cruelty. The animistic heathen thus debased fall into endless and ruinous tribe feuds, into slavery and men stealing. The sacrifices to the dead, the huge numbers murdered at the death of an African despot, and many other horrors of animistic heathen, are not isolated acts of rude caprice ; they are inherent in the system ; they are the natural and necessary expressions of misled religiousness.[1]

Unchastity is common ; it is also an outcome of the animistic world of thought. For it is deemed absolutely necessary to one's well-being both in this world and in the next to have children, no matter how they are begotten. If a man has no son by his wife he feels compelled to take another wife, or several more. Polygamy, the immorality of which no heathen will admit, is justified in this way. In Toba a girl who has had a pre-nuptial child is more desired than another, because she has proved her ability to bear offspring. Sexual intercourse before marriage is commended to prove whether the woman is capable of conception. In Borneo unchastity is carried into the service of religious worship. We find this also in the Lignam cult.[2] Siwa is worshipped under the symbol of the power of generation. The Phallic worship of Egypt, Greece and Rome shows how immorality has been sanctioned by religion in many heathen cults.[3]

[1] An Iboman on the Upper Niger boasted in a conversation : "I have slain six men in my day, how many have you ?"

[2] Tiele, "Kompendium," p. 248. [3] Baumgarten, "Seneca," p. 212.

Heathen myths tell of the immorality of the gods and demons and how they lie, deceive, and commit adultery in emulation of men. Even thieves and robbers had their deity to whom, with all naïvete, they prayed for success in their projects.

Animistic heathenism lacks knowledge of good and evil, because it has ruled God out of its estimate of custom. A reference to God certainly is made in oaths and in trial by ordeal, and it seems as if there was a moral judgment demanded of Him. But even there the question is, at bottom, the maintenance of the custom. God, the highest court of appeal, standing above the ancestors, takes care that the modus vivendi, represented by the tradition, is respected. But yet it may be said that here there is a presentiment of a real moral court of appeal; that a deeper thought is imported, inasmuch as the custom, by the form of the oath, makes appeal to God as judge. Moral feeling otherwise is little affected by it. The individual has no sense at all of responsibility towards God. God has no voice in what he must do or forbear doing. There is no allusion to moral retribution except in the case of oaths and trial by ordeal, and, even in these, retribution is looked for in this life only. The other world is but a shadowy continuance of the earthly life, and of the values that hold good here. No murderer or adulterer, or perjurer need fear punishment there. The only ones who look forward to a dreary fate are the poor, the leper, the childless; and that because their life on earth is despicable. They do not believe that God will judge the dead; and that destroys the very foundation of morality.[1] The concepts, good and evil, have no contents determined by a divine authority. The estimates of them vary hopelessly; and their place is filled by the far more important questions of rich or poor, with or without descendants, honoured or despised.

Any moral judgment of the individual is absolutely

[1] Hanke says of the Papuans: "Of what use could it be for men with their opinions to be good. All go to one place, and whether good or bad, the souls become white ants, or trees, or creeping plants."

dependent on the opinion of the community of which he is a member. No thought or will of his own goes to its shaping. The individual soul with his own responsibility, his own decision, has not yet come to life among animistic peoples. Hence the all-powerful, tyrannical might of custom. This complicated tradition that has ruled, unchanged for centuries, lies like a curse on primitive peoples, and kills every moral movement. Should any scruple of conscience emerge, it is stifled at once by this fatalistic strait waistcoat. Their conscience is a signpost whose writing has been obliterated. The heathen are like stamped coins with one single image and superscription. There are no separate individualities among them, only national types, and these over whole portions of the world have common features.

It follows, from what has been said, that animistic and polytheistic heathenism, with all its religiousness, is not religion in the sense of a relation to God; it is pure worldliness. Interest in this world, in the acquisition and maintenance of its benefits, determines the nature of this religion. The largest place in it is taken by the cult of the soul. That, and not the worship of God is the common good; that gives the religious colouring to daily life. Its pleasures are purely mundane. The Animist is pious after the thought of his religion when he struggles on to a good old age, and gains a large share of whatever seems precious to the primitive man. But the heart, the immortal part of him, remains unaffected. The soul-stuff is material, its hygienic treatment mechanical and mediated magically. The greatest defect of Animism is its assessment of the earthly life as the highest good. The Battaks say, "Man comes to earth to eat rice." Their needs do not go beyond nourishment and well-being. They are not attracted, they are repelled by the supernatural. They avoid it, except so far as any contact with it may have significance for their bodily weal. Nothing but anxiety for the preservation of earthly good gives a religious appearance to this materialism through their arrangements with the world of spirits.

For even when sacrifices and prayers are offered to higher powers the object is to obtain material benefits, such as healthy descendants, increase of flocks of cattle, abundant harvests, and victory. To obtain such benefits and remain in undisturbed possession of them, it is absolutely necessary to invoke the dreaded deities and spirits, and make offerings to them, however little one may feel drawn to them. Nottrott says of the Kols: "To maintain possession of their goods, and to ward off all evil, are the ends of their religiousness. They do not serve their gods, but make these gods serve them, and with this end in view they offer them sacrifices. Their worship is the most pronounced egoism in the form of religious usage." Sundermann says: "When I speak of the Niassers' worship I must first remark that real religious feeling has almost nothing to do with it. We must leave almost entirely out of account a genuine religious need of entering into and abiding in union with supernatural beings. They have lost all deeper feeling for a supernatural world, and even for a life after death, as young Christians have often confessed to me." Animistic faith and worship contain nothing of what we usually understand by religious needs.[1]

Religion is not deepened by any belief in another world. All that lies beyond the grave is uncertain, and signifies only a fading away of the earthly life. The gloomy notions about the kingdom of the dead and the shadowy life of the dead, their dependence on the liberality of their descendants, and their envy, all these prove that only life on earth is valued. No action of theirs is determined by motives drawn from the prospect of another life. No sacrifice, no prayer gains depth from any glance at the life after death. No one expects from the life to come what this life has failed to give. The

[1] We are told the same thing of the old Indians: "That which the old Indian Aryans desired of their gods was victory over their enemies, booty in war, bands of brave heroes for the battle, and, therefore, an abundance of male descendants; in peace, good harvests, and great families of splendid children (Dilger, A.M.Z., 1890, p. 507). The following is the prayer of a Ewe negro to God: "Give to me, and I will give to thee; refuse me, and I will refuse thee. Give me first something to eat, and I will give thee something in return" (Spieth, "Die Ewe-Stamme," p. 426).

continued existence of the dead is not called life. No union with God is there, for there is no Divine Judge, no Life Giver. Absolute hopelessness [1] stares the dying in the face; and it is borne with a dull apathy which shows that none has dreamt of making any claims on that other world. There is but one life, the present life, and happy is he who enjoys it. The prosperous are unfortunate in that they must leave their treasures and possess nought but the shadow of gifts scantily dispensed. But thrice unhappy are the poor or the sick, for a continuance and intensification of their sufferings awaits them there. Their religion cannot help them to any more precious and abiding blessings. This heathenism has no belief in immortality, for even that dream-like life in the kingdom of the dead is ultimately quenched. This shows very clearly how dead and unfruitful the idea of God has become in Animism; it is unable to produce any thoughts or any hopes of life. God is removed too far away for men to make the daring claim for a life that should endure. God troubles not Himself about the life and welfare of His creatures. All the scattered traces of deeper religious feeling found in Animism disappear at the grave. To love his life; that is the quintessence of animistic wisdom. But the disciples of that wisdom only reap disappointment, for He who is the truth passes sentence of death on every

[1] The dirge of the Niassers is a touching expression of hopelessness.

"Cast away the corpse and the sorrow,
Cast away the dead great and small,
Trouble not thy soul,
Trouble not the heart within thee,
Thou art not the only one severely hit,
Thou art not alone in such distress,
Death passes from tribe to tribe,
Death hastens from house to house,
It is therefore our common experience,
We grow up to be food for worms,
We live to be fodder for vermin,
Has this earth no place where men need not die?
Where is there but a protecting nook,
Where man will not be the prey of death."

Fries, "Rundbrief," 1908, p. 2 f.

religion whose interests are of earth, when He says: "Whosoever loveth his life shall lose it."

Ignorance, lies, estrangement from God, bondage, selfishness, immorality, worldliness of disposition, these are the decisive marks of animistic heathenism which the messenger of the Gospel must keep clearly before him. Heathenism is not unveiled to him as a lower stage of religion, capable of improvement, but a power incompatible with true religious life, a power which forces into its service that portion of mankind that is out of fellowship with Christ. Its ruling effort is not towards God and communion with Him, but is an opposition to the living God that becomes greater through the centuries.

Is the picture too dark? Is justice not done to the elements of truth which heathenism contains? We have ventured to mention some of these, and Protestant mission work is not blind to them. A longing and a seeking for God gleams here and there through all animistic distortions. That is specially the case with the idea of God, which is in contradiction with animistic beliefs. The longing is revealed by the uncertainty of the heathen's convictions, by his dissatisfaction, and by the remembrance of a better condition in former days. Anyone desiring to win the heathen to Christianity will rejoice to recognise, to collect and to use these rays of light. But a true judgment refuses to give them the first place. These are not the impelling forces of heathenism; not to them does it owe its power over the people. The purer idea of God has contributed nothing to the education of animistic peoples; and it has been unable to preserve heathenism, even in its most pious representatives, from a growing estrangement from God. The essence of heathenism to-day is determined by Godlessness, not by that dim longing after the true God, and it derives its characteristic marks from Godlessness. Its powers, born of earth, drag downwards, not upwards. For, that mighty forces bear sway in heathenism is experienced by missions in every region, powers which ever widen the gulf between God and man. If the Gospel were willing, in the hope of promoting

a better understanding, to make concessions in its estimate of heathenism, it would impoverish itself without enriching heathenism. Christianity and heathenism confront each other as hostile powers, which must have an exact knowledge of each other and then cross swords in a hard battle till the weaker of the two succumb. The following pages will show how far in this conflict those isolated elements of truth are fitted to become the allies of the Gospel.

II. FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND HEATHENISM

A. HEATHENISM IN AN ATTITUDE OF OPPOSITION

The Gospel, uninvited, goes to heathenism, and by a simple offer of its truth calls for surrender, convinced that the fortress of heathenism will fall before the trumpet blast of the gospel proclamation. What then is the attitude of animistic heathenism? The heathen have been occupied with thoughts about God and His worship; they have been scrupulous in their observance of religious usages; they have made their whole life a religious ceremonial. Should we not expect that the Gospel would gain their assent as soon as they heard its message. Must they not exclaim: Here is what our fathers racked their brains for and whose lack we have painfully felt; you bring us the God whom we have sought so long in vain? Yes, if heathenism were what we might construct from the stunted elements of truth in it. But the animistic heathen by no means fall into the arms of Christianity; rather they withstand it actively or passively. Its absolute rejection of the Gospel when first presented is a clear proof that those nobler features of heathenism, its search after God and its religiousness, which should have predisposed it in favour of Christianity, are not the decisive marks of its nature. The elements of truth in animistic religion are not strong enough to open the hearts of its worshippers to the preaching of the Gospel. Of course, heathenism does not always aggressively assail the Gospel and its messengers, for fanaticism is not one of its characteristics, and where open conflicts arise, very often they are the outcome of other motives. But the experience of mission work shows that nowhere has heathenism, at the first, any

desire to know anything about the new religion. A closer acquaintance with Animism shows us that it could not be otherwise.

Christianity sets before the heathen something entirely strange and unintelligible to them. Let us endeavour to get a clear conception of the enormous gulf between the messenger of the Gospel and the hearers of his message. The Animist rejects at once every foreign religion, not indeed because he is convinced of the superiority of his own. No: he believes that every nation has its own national gods and its own hereditary religion, which is inalienably suited to it as its land, its language, and its customs. The European has his religion; it is good for him as the religion of the Battak is for the Battak, and the religion of the Niasser for the Niasser.[1] For the Romans of the Empire every foreign religion had an attraction because it was foreign, but for the heathen every foreign religion is repellent for the same reason. To accept the religion of another nation one must become a member of that nation. That only happens to those sold as slaves to a foreign nation; these have lost their nationality; they have exchanged it for that of their masters. All religious matters are decided by the nation to which one belongs. And now comes a man of foreign nationality with new unintelligible customs; he praises his strange religion as the only true religion, and declares that this religion is better for brown and black people than even their own. The natives will mostly reason thus: to adopt this new religion we must become Europeans.[2] The state of matters among a primitive people is entirely different from that with which the Apostles and their successors had to deal. The idea of a national religion binding on all members

[1] The Papuans replied to the Rhine missionaries: "That is no doubt good for you white people, but not for us blacks; you have your customs and we have ours." The Mentawey Islanders replied to Lett the missionary, when he was declaiming against the hanging of witches: "Why should you white people trouble yourselves about our customs? . . . everyone has his own custom." We are constantly coming on the same answer in missionary literature.

[2] We often read in mission reports of such sayings by the natives.

of the nation was in their day disappearing; the individual was free to decide, independent of any national obligation, what religion he would accept. Their own religion had fallen into discredit; they were eclectics in religion selecting the best elements from all religions; while the idea that there was a universal religion higher and purer than any of those existing paved the way for Christianity. The missionaries of the early Church, wherever they went, found at least a readiness to examine the new religion and see whether it answered to their hopes and desires. The animistic heathen is not expecting any new religion. He is bound by his national religion, in which the individual has no need to take up a personal position. Mission work to-day is confronted with much the same conditions as mission work in the Middle Ages had to face in Central Europe. In describing the Franks, Burgundians, Anglo-Saxons and Saxons, Hauck describes the heathenism of primitive peoples of to-day. "It is not the individual but the whole people who decide whether they shall belong to this or that church." "The old mission methods were bound to fail among peoples in whom the sense of individuality was very slightly developed, and where the spiritual dependence of the individual, on the whole, was hardly shaken. Religion, here, was still part of the national custom from which the individual neither could nor would detach himself. That involved a change of method on the part of mission work. It could not as formerly advance from the individual to the whole, but had to win the whole in order to reach the individual.[1] The acceptance of Christianity by a decree of the people, as in the case of the Burgundians, has been very frequently repeated in mission work among the Germans; it may almost be said to have been the typical way in which Germans became Christians." "As the mission methods of the early Church were in keeping with the fact that the time of the Roman Empire was an epoch of the most intense individualisation, so the way in which the Germans

[1] A. Hauck, "Altkirchliche und mittelalterliche Missionsmethode, A.M.Z. 1901, p. 378.

accepted Christianity was in keeping with the fact, that among them the solidarity of the nation imposing itself upon the individual was incomparably more vigorous than personal individuality. We cannot presuppose the final fruit of culture — which is individualisation — in those who are taking the first step on the path of culture." In like manner modern missions deal with undeveloped peoples, who are not free to put themselves in opposition to their religion, which is the possession and sanctuary of the nation. Fries, the missionary at Sifaoroasi (Nias), writes: "In any possible change of religion no one will decide on his own responsibility; it is the counsel of elders, who must decide, for among our Niassers religion is wholly a national affair. The alternative for the several clans is all or none. The close union of the tribe relieves the individual of responsibility, but it robs him also of the freedom of individual decision. The genius of our Gospel, on the other hand, is to lay hold of the individual." The individual is not free enough to abandon his religion at his pleasure; he would thereby be withdrawing himself from the national union.[1] The Animist must, at the first, reject any preaching that separates religion from nationality, and demands from the individual a free decision.

Moreover, the adherents of natural religion are conservative in the most rigorous sense of the word. Their religion, as already shown, is tradition, and a religious man is one who observes the tradition. Religion does not mean a personal relation to the far-off gods, but an observance of the custom. The adat (custom) is the holy, though unwritten book, of which the ancestors were the authors, and are now the strict guardians. A change of religion would be a momentous rupture with the carefully-guarded tradition, unless one at the same time attached himself to the people whose religion he adopted;[2] in that case, one would enter into the traditions

[1] Among the Battaks, as among many other peoples, those who first ventured to pass over to Christianity were expelled from the tribe.

[2] The Prince of Onitsha, on the Upper Niger, admitted that the cruel usages were bad, but definitely declared that he could not possibly abolish customs which he had inherited from his fathers.

of that people, would be under obligation to venerate its institutions, would accept its protecting deities as his own, and would thereby be protected against the wrath of his own national gods, that is, his ancestors. A change of religion is like the fate of a slave who changes his master. The new master into whose family and tribe he enters undertakes to protect him.[1] But everything in the heathen resists such a step.

Recall the fact that the worship of the Animist is essentially ancestor worship. No Animist, at first, can form any other notion of the Christian religion than that it represents the deities of another nation and the ancestors of another people. How can one with their mode of thinking change his religion, which means really to adopt other ancestors. A man has his own forefathers, and cannot change them. The European has his ancestors, and the Indonesian his. Primitive man never dreams of trying to convert people of another nationality to his religion. Their forefathers are different. The proselytising zeal of the white man must therefore strike him as very strange.

Though the attitude of primitive peoples is one of opposition to every other religion, Christianity cannot but appear to them specially strange. Europeans are its messengers and preachers. Primitive man is inherently suspicious, and distrusts the European profoundly. The foreigner, equipped, he thinks, with supernatural powers and immeasurable riches, far superior to him in wisdom, the master of unimaginable arts, surely comes to defraud and rob the poor coloured man. "Accustomed from the beginning of his days to be continually deceived and exploited by the clever and the strong among his own people, he is quite justified in meeting anyone wiser than himself with great caution." This distrust is the deeper wherever white planters or merchants have preceded the missionary, or where the mis-

[1] The Chinese, the most Conservative heathen in the world, can be more easily won to Christianity when abroad than when in China, because they have left behind them their ancestors, and the whole sacred tradition connected with them. The slackening of the political bond makes it easier to break the religious.

sionary is followed by the establishment of a colonial government, whose blessing the primitive man does not at once see. They think it natural that foreign missionaries should have their own different religion, but that they should wish the natives to adopt it instead of Animism is something unheard of. The foreign custom is, no doubt, suited to the wise and mighty white people. But how can it be suited to poor and ignorant Battaks or Alfurus? Can the brown man become white?

The missionary (we are speaking here of the first contact with a people who have had no missionary previously) has at first a very imperfect knowledge of the language, and his message is often misunderstood, or not understood at all. He acquires painfully a few words; he uses them in a sense different from that given to them by the natives, and with a psychological reference they do not understand. He finds, for example, a word for sin; he never suspects that they associate the word with a totally different idea. He uses Christian terms, such as faith, guilt, forgiveness; and every necessary presupposition for their understanding is lacking in their religion. The language is one of the greatest obstacles to even the most elementary preaching of the Gospel. In many mission fields decades pass before even the right word is found for God.[1] It is only by residing in the land for years, by persistent study of the outward and inward life of the people, and by relentless self-criticism, that the missionaries come to see the errors into which at first they fell in all simplicity. The missionary has even less chance of being understood if he employs an interpreter.

[1] We are told of a painful but instructive experience of that kind in the mission to the Herero. When the first missionaries were looking out for a fitting word for God, they often heard the word Mukuru, and thought this was the word they were in search of. They adopted it as the name of the Christian God. It was afterwards discovered that this was not the name given by the Herero to the God of heaven and of earth, of whom the Herero knew, but the name of the ancestors of the tribe. Great chiefs were also called Mukuru. God, who is over all, is called Ndjambi Karunga, the good Creator, the word that had been sought. How much misunderstanding, nay, vexation, may have been caused by the free use of this word for years, and how often may it have destroyed the effect of the Gospel message!

What wonder the heathen reject a message erroneously expounded which, from the first, awoke their distrust.[1]

And now, supposing that the message has been heard, what of its contents? It sets forth ideas as important which have hitherto been utterly remote from the heathen. They don't hear of a religion interested in the earth; they hear nothing about the way to become rich and happy, or how to preserve one's soul power through all dangers; they hear instead of a relation to God, of sin and forgiveness, of resurrection and life after death and final judgment, pure novelties, which to the heathen intent on this world seem to be sheer foolishness.[2] The new religion speaks of blessings for which they have no desire and depreciates those which they deem precious. The new preaching turns all their religious thinking upside down. Absolute unintelligence stares from the eyes of his hearers on the evangelist. Then also the message is directed to the individual, to the poor as well as to the rich, to slaves as well as to their masters; it says the same thing to all, calling upon them to make a personal decision. All this works together to make the proffered Gospel strange and uncongenial.

The Mohammedan propaganda has many advantages over the Christian. In the great majority of cases it is carried on by members of the people whose conversion is sought, and therefore has not the savour of an exotic. The missionary and those among whom he labours understand each other. The heathen sees from his Mohammedan fellow-countryman that the change is not dangerous, and that it does not involve the loss of one's nationality or of the custom established in ancestor worship. Mohammedanism does not exact from the heathen a revolution of his religious ideas; it leaves

[1] The state of things is more favourable when the Gospel is brought to the heathen by one of their own people. The Gospel has spread quicker, and found more open ears and hearts among tho Battaks since mission work was carried on by native evangelists. The native is not only a more intelligible preacher; his whole life is a convincing sermon of the new religion.

[2] The heathen Betshuans received Moffat's preaching at first with peals of laughter. His statements about creation, the fall, redemption, all sounded to them unspeakably insipid. Moffat felt that he was like a peasant attempting to plough a granite rock.

him—at least in the Indian Archipelago—his ancestors and demons, his magic and sacrifices, his immorality and national sins. It only demands a mechanical observance of certain rites, washings, fastings, prayers towards Mecca, and a carefulness not to eat swine flesh. The prohibition of a certain food is something the Animist can easily understand; his own religion has numbers of such prohibitions. His separation from the old worship is only in external things, and the change of religion is made as convenient as possible. Islam does not demand from its heathen converts any inward appropriation.

There is the crux felt at the very first contact with Christianity. Its central fact requires to be understood, though in a very elementary way, before anyone can resolve to embrace it. But the heathen have no desire to understand it; they will not take the trouble to think about it; they assume that the religion of their fathers is quite sufficient for them. None of them has ever felt the need of changing his religion. When the missionary Burton first entered the heathen Battak land in 1824, and explained his object to a great meeting in Silindung, when he spoke to them of God, the Creator, and Jesus the Redeemer, they answered politely but decidedly: "What you say may be good, but it is not for us; we shall not leave the way of our fathers, for it is good for us." He had to withdraw without effecting anything. Foreign missionaries often get the answer: "Your words are good, very good," but it is a polite phrase not seriously meant.[1] Manifestly, therefore, the tree of animistic heathenism cannot be brought down by one stroke. Missionaries must be prepared for long, patient labour before the heathen get even a dim perception of what the Gospel seeks to give them.

[1] The Toradja will assure you that all you say is true, that all his customs and festivals are but tales and lies of his forefathers, that the Dutch are wise people who know all things, while they are stupid and know nothing. But if you accept their statement, and say: Well, if you recognise that God's Word is true, why do you not follow it? they will look at you as if they would say: Are you not satisfied with my admitting that you were right; what more would you have?

A greater hindrance still to the acceptance of Christianity is the heathen's utter want of interest in spiritual things. Their religiousness is a doctrine of material happiness with earthly aims and means. There is very little seeking for God or for truth in it. They often say plainly, If you bring us a religion that will make us rich and strong; if you guarantee us numerous sons or the position of a distinguished chief, we shall become Christians. The missionary is bitterly disappointed by this earthly-mindedness, this deadness to higher interests. But we must never forget that worldliness is the essence of animistic heathenism. The heathen is religious for earthly ends. Confronted with a religion dealing with spiritual benefits, he inevitably puts little value on it; he rejects it because it promises him nothing of that which he has been accustomed to look for from his own religion. Only a fool would pass over to a religion which yielded him no profit.[1] It was in virtue of the falsehood inherent in their heathen religion that they were quite satisfied with it. Particular failures of sorcery or fruitless sacrifice to those who took part in them were no proof of deception.[2] Animists are firmly convinced that help can be purchased from higher powers by sacrifices and ceremonies. No one expects anything from the life to come. There is no desire for eternal blessings, or rather any such desire has been extinguished in the service of materialism. A heathen can form no conception of a religion of spiritual benefits, and therefore at first they suppose that Christianity is like their own religion, a religion for securing earthly blessings.

[1] The heathen Betshuans quite openly replied to Moffat, The new customs you preach cannot fill the stomach. The Papuans used similar language to their missionaries.

[2] If you remind a Kamba that, in spite of talismans, people are killed in battle and die of disease, he will give you the answer I once got. You give medicine, and yet men die. They are helpful in some cases. It is the same with our talismans; they are medicines. Who knows how often they have been the means of help? (Brutzer). A Toradja chief said to Kruyt the missionary: "You ask God for what you want; sometimes He grants your request, sometimes not. We pray to our gods for what we want; sometimes they grant our request, sometimes not. You see that Christianity and heathenism are quite the same."

Its adherents become rich and powerful; see the white men who wield its inherent powers of magic. Simon, the missionary, on digging a well at Bandor (east coast of Sumatra), was regarded as a mighty magician. The Niassers believed that the missionaries were in possession of great means of magic, which of course they concealed. The Damra regarded H. Hahn, the missionary, as a great magician. The Papuans even regarded the missionaries as spirits. They saw in the coffee of Hoffmann, the missionary, a medicine which was a protection from epidemics, and called on Missionary Kunze to heal a sick person in the words, "Kunze, give orders that he may be healed." The heathen would gladly become Christians if they were made thereby richer, healthier, and stronger through the magic power of Christianity, if they lived longer and had more descendants. Otherwise, what end is to be served by the change?

Add to all this the *vis inertia*, nowhere greater than among a people enervated by a tropical climate, from whom subjection to demons and fatalism have taken away the little energy that once perhaps lay in the cradle of its ancestors. If some of them are really laid hold of by the new truth, how are they to brace themselves up to make the change and embrace a religion which makes the greatest demands on the will, and which will in all probability involve them in inconveniences, privations, and martyrdom? Animistic peoples are entirely different from Germans, Romans, and Sclavs. They do not know what energy of will is; they have no name for it. How are they to accept a religion which can only be embraced by a vigorous will? Nothing is more uncongenial to the Indonesian than vigorous action involving consequences. He endures suffering as well as any man if it must be. But he leaves vigorous action to others. Without such action, however, no one can enter into Christianity.

Free from fanaticism as animistic heathenism generally is, there are yet some rabid opponents of Christianity. These are men whose influential position is threatened—mainly chiefs. Such men are the official and interested guardians

of custom, and they look forward to being one day promoted to ancestor deities. They are the priests who represent the people in the presence of the ancestor deities, and who are themselves regarded as semi-deities. In them the conservatism of the people is concentrated. Often they receive divine worship even in this life.[1] Their power rests first of all on ancestor worship, and then on the sword; and they have no desire to abandon lucrative predatory raids. A chief in Samosir said to me quite frankly, "Why should I become a Christian? Whence am I to get wealth and power if I give up waging war and hunting slaves?" The slave-holder, the tribal prince worshipped as a semi-deity, and the capricious tyrant all see in Christianity a disagreeable disturber of peace. The priests and magicians are still more malicious enemies; their trade is threatened with the loss of its enormous profits if those they have hitherto deceived become Christians. Everywhere these men are inexorable enemies of the missionaries and their adherents. Their whole influence, which is not small, together with all their lying arts, is employed to prevent the entrance of the Gospel. Now these men and the chiefs are the rulers; where they are opponents it is very difficult to lead their subjects to Christianity and protect them afterwards. Converts would find themselves involved in contention, war, law suits, and no end of difficulties. The change is effected most smoothly where, as in mediæval missions, prince and people unanimously agree to accept the better religion, an event which has not been repeated in any complete fashion in any modern mission field.[2] Individual heathen who venture to make

[1] We are thinking of African despots who feel that their throne is shaken when their subjects become Christian and cease to give them the usual idolatrous honour. The Indian chiefs are also honoured by their people like gods. It is scarcely possible for subjects to become Christians against the will of the despot; at any rate a Christian community cannot permanently prosper in such an atmosphere. It is absolutely necessary for the missionary to obtain influence over the heads of the tribe and give them special attention. By so doing he creates the conditions for successful results.

[2] It need hardly be said that we are not pleading for an outward secession of masses of people. But it is not the final aim of missions to withdraw

the change must be prepared to endure the anger and hostility of their people and their leaders. Those difficulties disappear only when great masses turn towards the Gospel, as in Sumatra, Nias, Celebes, and among the Kols and Karens.

Insight into the psychology of these heathen people whose religious thought is not individualistic but communistic sets the much abused methods of mediæval missions in a better light than that in which they are usually placed. As to-day among animistic people, the mediæval missionary was forced to aim at a decision from whole tribes and nations, and it was only after these had decided as a whole to accept the new religion that the educative work of the Church began. Protestant missions have been unwilling to enter on this path, having an honest aversion towards it. But their actual dealings with heathenism of a lower stage have involved them in embarrassment. Quite apart from their intention and desire they have been and are being forced to see national heathenism in its totality shattered by their labours and whole societies and peoples deciding for Christianity before they have all been inwardly renewed. Hence our grave doubts and fears. The defect of papal missions was their failure to infuse the new spirit into the masses won outwardly. But Protestant missions surprised, not

individuals from the society of their people and lead them to Christianity. It seeks to bring the gifts of the Gospel to the whole nation, and cannot but rejoice when the whole nation shows a readiness to receive them. That can only happen where prince and people are of one mind. The mission of course does not reject individual seceders, who are of great importance in the struggle with heathenism, but it hopes for the harvest of the whole. The communistic views of the people encourages the hope that once a movement towards Christianity begins, the people as a whole will effect the change; this of course will entail new dangers and new duties for mission work. After sixteen years of patient work by the London Missionary Society in Tahiti, King Pomore raised Christianity, at a stroke, to the religion of the State before a single islander was baptised. Bechler, speaking of the old Indian Mission, says: "The natives of Goschgoschunk, in a general meeting of council, were ready to decide to pass over in a body to Christianity. But Zeisberger did not agree, as he thought the action unevangelical. He declared that each must decide in his own heart." People then were opposed to secession in the mass. To-day the opinions of the Moravian brethren are different, for Bechler blames Zeisberger, and says that even he at a later time laboured for the Christianising of the nation.

always joyfully, at the effect of their preaching, are now becoming conscious that the hardest part of their work, the training of the individual in faith and Christian life is after the nation as a whole has accepted the new faith, and must be prosecuted vigorously then.

Over against the warm, clear, moral purity of Christianity animistic heathenism stands out dark, loveless, selfish. We would expect the new religion to commend itself there. It invites them, even apart from any closer acquaintance with the Christian God, to put themselves under the influence of His holy laws. The deeper we peer into the swamp of heathen barbarity the more ready shall we be to think that these poor, misled creatures must, if only the clear mirror of the Divine Commandments be held up to them, stretch out hands of desire for such purity. But the experience of foreign missionaries is not so. The moral superiority of the Gospel is not felt by the Animist and only in rare cases is the starting point of the change there. Even in those heathen Christian communities where there is a genuine Christian life the practice of Christian morality falls into the background behind the new religious exercises. To appreciate the morals of Christianity requires a measure of spiritual intelligence up to which the converts, from the nature of things, must gradually grow. The dull eye of the heathen must be made clear before he can see the matchless beauty of Christian morality. We have only to realise the true nature of heathenism to see that not there is the lever to be set.

All heathen peoples are satisfied with the morals they have. Anyone who is not intimate with them and who listens to their beautiful proverbs and fables, who observes their national virtues and sees the indignation with which they condemn a thief, a deceiver, or an adulterer, would be led to believe that they had a knowledge of right and wrong. They will hardly admit that the Christian commandments have anything to say to them that is essentially new. They unreservedly accept the Christian moral law in principle, for

it gives them no impression of a superior morality. They assent emphatically to the decalogue when it is announced to them. We missionaries often enough hear them say: "We knew all that long ago from our fathers." A heathen can speak with such moral conviction that an inexperienced preacher might almost think he had underestimated his moral capacity. Remnants of moral consciousness still exist in the heart of the heathen such as enable it to deceive itself and others into the belief that it has the same moral law as Christianity. No entrance to the self-righteous heart of the heathen is found by extolling the morals of Christianity. Only, long after they have become Christians, they admit blushingly the lowness of heathen morals. Among civilised peoples the conviction of their own sufficient morality is perhaps still stronger. The religions of India, China, and Japan have produced notable virtues. If the missionary merely serves up moral sermons he will often enough be covered with scorn or repelled with anger. Listen to one who is a reliable authority on this matter, the Japanese heathen Christian Kanso Utschimura. After referring with some optimism to the fact that morality may be found even among Japanese heathen, he continues: "Christianity proves, by giving power to keep the law, that it is greater and higher than heathenism. It is heathenism plus life. The Christian religion is the spirit of the law. It alone works from within outwards. It is that for which heathenism has been searching and groping with tears. It not only shows us what is good, it makes us good, for it leads us to the Eternal Good itself. It not only shows us the right way, it gives us life; it not only provides the rails, it provides the locomotive. Human experience has found no other name under heaven whereby we must be saved than the name of Jesus. Of moral doctrines we have enough; any doctor of philosophy can furnish them for good payment, and we do not need to learn from a professor that we should not steal. Christianity to me, at least, is deliverance from sin through the reconciling grace of the Son of God."[1]

[1] Kanso Utschimuru, "Wie ich ein Christen wurde," p. 113.

Animistic heathen have not entirely lost the knowledge of good and evil, but their conscience is perverted. Their mind assents to the Christian commandments as self-evident, because serviceable for social life. But the conscience does not react on them because no one feels that they apply to him. No moral preaching can regenerate a conscience perverted by national custom, nor any moral example, not even the example of the Holy Son of Man Himself. Any nobler metal in heathen morals lacks power of enforcement. The heathen does not take seriously the virtues about which he speaks so fluently. Most of the moral obligations in their social life spring from egoism. Self-preservation forces them to set up some police regulations.[1] Such virtues are really brilliant vices, threadbare cloaks which barely conceal the moral emptiness within.

But should the missionary preach to the heathen of the virtues of the heart—love, mercy, meekness, honesty—his words would be to them as an unknown tongue whereof no one had the key. To inculcate love for one's neighbour can make no impression on men who are cannibals and head-hunters. To hold up chastity before an unchaste people is as useless as to show good soap to the unclean. A chief with a harem of sixty wives was made an enemy by the missionary extolling the grandeur of marriage. It is useless to demonstrate the vulgarity of lying to men addicted to lying.[2] The hearers of a moralising preacher may agree with

[1] Merensky says of the Transvaal Basuto that selfishness has taught him to make arrangements for the security of life and property. Theft, outrage, and injury are therefore severely punished, but not from any sense of common interests or righteousness. Wherever they are not deterred by legal restraints, as in regard to the foreigner, they rob and steal and murder without compunction.

[1] Merensky tells of his first meeting with Umswasi, King of Swasiland. After listening to God's commandments he exclaimed: "The commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," does not suit me and my people. I must be able to kill when I want to kill. How am I to punish a messenger who does not promptly execute his message, and what are my soldiers to eat if military expeditions are to cease?" The missionaries' explanation that we must keep God's commandments and that Christian nations have become great and mighty by keeping them, he broke in upon with the words, "We Swasi have

him for politeness sake, for so custom demands,[1] but no deeper impression is made.

One thing he may secure. His hearers will admit, "all you say is good and needful for my neighbour, but it is superfluous for myself, for I am good. I am as upright as that, stretching a finger of his right hand into the air. No heathen will readily admit that he lacks a right disposition. Their self-blindness and self-righteousness is incredible.[2] Chiefs in Sumatra, who were notorious for predatory raids and cruelty, who conducted slave-hunts in the basest fashion, and caused innocent persons to die in prison of starvation, would never admit to me that they had done wrong. They assured me that they were absolutely right; they were acting in vindication of just interests, self-defence, etc.[3] The con-

always so done." An excited Papuan answered Kunze, the missionary, "Yes my heart is bad, and I mean it to remain bad; I side with the lie. Why do you come here to disturb us? Why do you speak of Jesus? We are Barak people, therefore be silent."

[1] Nothing more depresses the missionary than this tremendous politeness which turns aside all one says: "What you say is very good, very true; yes, we are very bad and must be changed; our custom is from the devil, etc." Open contradiction can be more easily overcome than such slippery lies. Politeness belongs to the lying nature of heathenism. The Animist is made polite by fear of the vengeance of those who are slighted, by fear of secret powers, of the soul power of his fellows, of curses, of evil influences and the like. For the same reason he often exhibits an astonishing power of self-control. The virtues of politeness and self-control spring therefore from unadulterated egotism and are in point of fact "brilliant vices."

[2] A Papuan replied to the missionary Hanke: "You are always speaking about sin, but I have no sin; I do not keep company with strange women; I am an excellent man." The Congo negroes believed that the missionary Richards was a sinner and that the neighbouring tribes did evil, but they absolutely refused to admit such things of themselves. The Betshuans exhibit the utmost self-righteousness. They admit that sinners may be found among the Bushmen and Hottentots, but there are none among the Betshuans. The Papuans in Dutch New Guinea admit that all other tribes except themselves are bad.

[3] When the missionary Richards explained the ten commandments to the Congo negroes they acknowledged them to be very good, and maintained that they had never transgressed them. A negro who was caught in the act of stealing was asked whether he had not stolen, answered indignantly, "Do you call that stealing. The white man wants to brand me a thief and deprive me of my good name." The preaching of the law proves totally unimpressive.

science does not answer to the purer note of the Divine commandment. What help can moral preaching give in such ingrained sins of custom?[1] Men who are utterly brutalised have lost susceptibility for true morality.

Moral preaching can make no impression on animistic heathen, and that chiefly because their moral and their unmoral ideas are both rooted in the religious world of ideas which rests on animism. So long as their minds are filled with animistic ideas they must remain unaffected by morals of another type.[2] When the head-hunter strikes off the head of his victim and hangs it up in his hut, he believes that by so doing he will gain for himself the vital power of the slain man, an elixir of life. Such an act is only worthy of praise. The cannibal firmly believes that he is doing a good work which yields him "life." How can the heathen admit that they are doing wrong in all that brutal egotism of theirs so long as they are not convinced of the error of their presupposition? Deep-rooted diseases like these are not cured by a treatment of the symptoms. When a married pair have no children it is a sign that their souls are not in harmony and the marriage must be dissolved. So long as marriage is viewed in that light it is utterly useless to proclaim its sacredness. Animistic religion sanctions lies and selfishness. If a Battak, who has cruelly killed a child with the view of preparing a charm from its corpse,[3] be reproached for the brutality of his deed he would simply say, or, perhaps, being a polite man, would only think, you do not understand; your customs may not allow that, for you have other means of procuring life; but to us it is salutary. The evangelist cannot appeal to a conscience based on such misguided religious convictions.

[1] When Moffat asked one of his Betshuan converts if he had never felt a beating of the heart, a consciousness of guilt or responsibility in his sinful abominations, he answered, "How could we feel anything? We did not know that an invisible eye was seeing us and an invisible ear was hearing us. You found us like wild beasts, not like men."

[2] The heathen Christians become new men morally only so far as they succeed in vanquishing the animistic idea of the soul by Christian modes of thought.

[3] *Cf.* p. 68 f.

Wherever moral emotions are met with in heathenism they have for the most part their origin in fear, not however fear of God, but of evil spirits, fear of the vigilant ancestors or of the souls of offended fellowmen. No Battak will readily venture on a false oath, because he fears the vengeance of the ancestors or the deities. Adultery is scarcely found on Nias, at least among the common people, because the offended party insists upon the penalty of a cruel death.[1] They do not willingly perform anything unusual, because the attention of the ancestors would be drawn to it.[2] Popular as stealing is, the art is practised only in secret, for the detected thief knows that a heavy penance is awaiting him. Adultery among the Battaks and many other Indonesian peoples is very risky—at least among the common people, the upper man can do anything—for the adulterer caught in the act may be struck down, "like a pig in the rice-field."

Chastity is not regarded as a virtue, but a man is afraid to touch his neighbour's wife. No one in any given case will shrink from murder, for little value is put upon life; but only the strong and powerful have full freedom to kill. The same fear which makes the heathen cruel and brutal makes him in other circumstances put a curb upon his passions. No one who knows the real state of things will be misled by the statistics of crime, for egoism makes them cautious. Fear dictates a prudence which has little to do with morals. The Animist cannot conceive the idea of a man being impelled by an inward motive to do good or to avoid evil.

Custom is the authority to which the Animist submits.[3] Wherever the moral law of the Christian is set by the side of heathen custom he does not recognise its superiority. But

[1] In connection with this subject the state of matters is exactly the same on Nias as in Sumatra. The mighty can do anything. The moral commandments preached with such emphasis are binding only on the defenceless multitude.

[2] The worst thing that one can say of a Battak is that he has done something that was never done before, something "unheard of." That does not mean that he has done something bad, but something that violates the tradition.

[3] *Cf.* p. 126 f.

wherever, as often happens, it comes into collision with custom, moral preaching has no effect upon him, so long as the custom, which the ancestors protect, is still respected, that is to say, so long as the people are dominated by ancestor worship and ancestor belief. Nay, they will take up a distinctly hostile attitude. The perception of this is sufficient to chill moral preachers in the heathen world. Their preaching thus cannot fail to wound heathen feeling. Many sacred customs are assailed by Christianity, such as polygamy, slavery, revenge for bloodshed, witchcraft, child marriage, judgments of God. Immoral things such as these are not felt to be immoral, but rather holy traditions. The Gospel, from its first announcement, arrays itself against such usages; it does so even without any direct polemic; and thereby it gives grievous offence, and not only to the evil disposed.[1] They do not deny that the missionary adorns his "custom." The walk of the messenger may commend his words, but if he ask the natives to change their customs he is told that every land has its own customs with which it is satisfied. "We are Battaks," the heathen of Sumatra said, setting aside in this way every appeal to their conscience. That settled the matter for them quite satisfactorily. When Battak evangelists visited the savage Pakpak tribe they discovered that the Pakpaks were in the habit of strangling their parents and eating them when they became old. The Christians were shocked, and upbraided them with their inhumanity; but the Pakpaks, with the best conscience possible, replied, "Every people has its own custom, and that is ours," and the thing was settled.[2] All moral influence rebounds, as from a rock, from this "custom," a custom which is a far harder tyrant than the customs of the most conservative of Christian

[1] A Niasser replied to the missionary: "At your speech one's hair rose on end. If you had only come sooner before our fathers had fixed our custom we should not then have known these customs of ours, which are now so difficult to lay aside."

[2] The Bangala on the Upper Congo are eager cannibals. They are not ashamed of it, and said with all naïvete to the indignant missionary: "You eat fowls, we eat men, where is the difference." A Battak proverb says: "Every region has its own products, and every land its own custom."

countries, because it is based upon religion. Here the Gospel strikes against the strongest tower of the heathen fortress.

When a heathen is confronted with Christian morals he does not see the good of them.[1] But even when they are brought home to him and he owns their excellence, he is by no means willing to make them his own. They demand of him a conflict with the national customs and with his own heart which he had no desire to enter upon, which he cannot enter upon so long as no power is given to him from outside himself. When I was preaching the Gospel among the people of Samosir, then entirely heathen, a thoughtful man who regularly attended our service came to me one day and said, "I would like very much to become a Christian, for I see that the new way is good, but I am not, and never will be able to do so." "Why not," I asked, "if you see that the Christian religion is good." He answered, "You have often told us that we must forgive our enemies; that God will not forgive our faults if we do not forgive our debtors. Now, I have an enemy who formerly killed my son, and I cannot forgive him; so I can never be a Christian." This man, therefore, for the time anyhow, was held back by the moral consequences of the Gospel. The ethical demands of Christianity make it very difficult for the heathen, who has grown up in sin and caprice and is fettered by custom, to accept the new religion, even when he sees it to be true.

One of the main opponents of Christian morality is the determinism that adheres to Animism.[2] He who knows the power it has over their minds will despair of mere moral preaching. The Animist may be forced to admit that his walk is defective, but remains firmly convinced that, just as he is with all his faults and evil habits, he was created by God; that his disposition is foreordained and fixed unchangeably, and that he cannot change his conduct in the very least. What then is the use of trying to persuade him to change his

[1] The missionaries told the heathen of Samosir that they brought them a new doctrine, which had the power of so changing the heart that one could be always honest. This prospect, however, did not attract, and a chief put the characteristic question, "What is the reward for being honest?"

[2] *Cf.* p. 107 ff.

ways, and to give up this or that sin. Quite logically, he bids you, "apply to God who perhaps can make me different, I cannot, for I was created the man I am." The missionary is startled at first by the cynical challenge of some scoundrel, "pray earnestly to God that he may change my heart." But, as a determinist, the man cannot think otherwise; it is not frivolity, but the logical outcome of his religion. If we began by preaching repentance, we would, in the opinion of the heathen, be applying to the wrong address, for man cannot change his heart. As fatalism is widely diffused over the earth, these statements will apply to many mission fields. For the preaching of morality, it is necessary that the hearers believe in man's moral freedom and responsibility. The Animist, however, is not free; he is driven by his lot, that primal gift which predestined one to be an adulterer, another to be a murderer, a third to be a thief. Hence, he feels no guilt. He dreads no punishment in the other world, and on earth he has only to beware of the vengeance of those he has offended. Fatalism must be broken up, and the heart won to faith in the living God and in moral freedom before we can speak to these over-religious men of any change of mind.

Heathenism cannot be reached from the moral side. Christianity may bring a perfect morality; but its moral powers, which renew the soul, have, at the first, no effect upon the heart of the animistic heathen. Utschimuru is not the only one who testifies that it is not the morality of the Gospel which attracts. An Indian missionary tells us that he made trial of his hearers with the law. They became angry and said, "let him preach the law to his own people who have much need of it." "I have often," he says, "tried to preach the law, that is, to awaken the knowledge of sin so as to reveal to them the need of a Saviour. But I have never been able to forget an answer which I got from a heathen in great anger. He said, 'We have a religion which makes great demands upon us in money, cattle, sacrifices, mortifications, fasts, prayers, washings, pilgrimages. We meet all these demands. We have a king who imposes taxes on us,

and demands money, grain, and compulsory service. We do all that he asks. We have a government which saddles us with policemen and police arrangements. We groan and bear it all. And now you come with frightful demands which put all the others in the shade. It is cruel to torture, with the terrors of the law, the heathen who have grown up in fear and terror all their life.'"

The Gospel has little prospect of being welcomed if it comes as a demand. The gifts of the Gospel must first be planted, and spring up as good seed in the benumbed heathen heart before that heart can be capable of moral transformation. The man who seeks to move the rock of heathenism with morals is using the wrong lever. Its perverted morality is the outcome of its perverted religion. The first error was its departing from God. Let that fundamental defect be remedied, and the immoral consequences will pass away of themselves. When we restore to the heathen the true God, the living power of that God will suppress the false morality.

B. AGENCIES THAT CLEAR THE WAY FOR CHRISTIANITY.

Our inquiry has shown that the animistic heathenism, misled as it is both in morals and in religion, views, with coldness and distrust, the Christian religion which it cannot understand, and for which it has no desire. But the success of foreign missions grows from year to year, and Christianity has now been accepted, not only by individuals in defiance of the will of their people, but by entire tribes and peoples. The question now arises, What is it that smooths the way for the preaching of the Gospel in spite of all obstacles, what is it that opens the door that was formerly closed, and gives it entrance to the souls of heathen peoples? What is it that draws the attention of the indifferent and self-satisfied heathen to the Gospel as something worthy of their consideration? The forces of the Gospel that become effective in heathenism, and the way in which they act, will be dis-

cussed in the chapter that follows. Our present object is to trace the preparatory influences that begin to dispose peoples and individuals to God's message. Secondary powers work, of course, in union with divine powers and in advance of them. God works, as far as possible, through natural and explicable second causes. The Gospel which Jesus committed to his people contained a divine power for conquering the world, which is the ultimate reason of its victory. But the Church historian would be seriously at fault if he failed to take into consideration, as effective auxiliaries of the Gospel, the natural mediating causes, such as the unity of law and language of the Roman Empire, the universal peace, the facilities of intercourse, and the universal longing for a divinely authorised religion. In the mission work of to-day, purely spiritual, as well as secular factors are at work also. To be able to throw into clear relief the purely spiritual powers of the Gospel, we must endeavour to disclose the natural forces with which they are associated. The guiding hand of God is seen in their concurrence.

We are now confronted with a profusion of most diverse causes and effects all interlaced with one another. For the *gratia praeveniens* is as variously developed in the life of the individual Christian, as πολυποίκιλος rules in the movements of nations. Guided by the experience of missions we shall endeavour to bring into the light the main preparatory influences as far as that is possible in judging of historical events that are still running their course.

Misery in various forms is the inseparable attendant of animistic heathenism. Christians at home have little idea of the enormous mass and frightful severity of the wretchedness and need of heathen peoples that cry to heaven. There is no longer any need to refute the legends about the "happy heathen," the contented joyous children of nature. But the great mass of misery naturally and necessarily connected with heathenism can hardly be sufficiently known, and it is not usually inserted in the accounts of theorisers who are more taken up with the structure of heathen thought than with the practical results that flow from it. The greater

number of heathen Battaks are so poor that they are only kept from starvation by the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics. The propertied classes levy 200 per cent. from the poor, who are compelled to mortgage their rice to them, with the result that most of them become their slaves whom they can deal with as they please. Slaves are called "children of cats," "children of pigs," and are often worse treated than cattle, which are of value. The abominations of African slavery are well known. When their power permits the chiefs are inhuman tyrants. No one has any idea of compassion for the oppressed, and the defenceless are tortured almost to death. Woe to the widow and the orphan, the weak and the oppressed, for heathenism grants them no advocate. Animism dazzles us with its interesting world of thought, but what an amount of misery, of tears and blood, it pours out on its adherents. Manstealing and murder in the service of spirit-worship, revenge for blood-shed, persecution of witches, cruelty, falsehood, deception, unrestrained covetousness, are its unavoidable accompaniments. Animism compels the heathen systematically to torture their sick,[1] it degrades woman, poisons family life and the training of children, it leads to the basest selfishness, to the exploiting of the defenceless, and the reckless struggle of all against all. It robs the people of peace, embitters men's lives, and makes them melancholy and stupid.

The heathen have a dim sense of their misery. They do not know the poisonous root from which their want of peace and their torment grows; but the consequences of their heathenism lie heavy on them. Men are now coming to

[1] Disease is caused by evil spirits. Hence the treatment of the sick aims at driving out the evil spirits. They torture the poor sick man by surrounding him with frightful uproar, hurrying him from one house to another, giving him nauseating or pungent medicines to drink, enveloping him in thick, foul-smelling smoke—all to drive out the spirit that causes the disease. The effect, of course, often is that the patient dies under the treatment. Certain patients, those, for example, seized by cholera, and lepers are left to themselves through fear of infection. The Kols are just as heartless towards the sick because evil spirits are the cause of the disease (Jellinghaus, "Kols," p. 69).

them who sympathise with their misery and are eagerly desirous to allay it. The oppressed hear a message which they do not yet understand, but they perceive that it means for them salvation. The great misery in which they drag out their wretched existence opens their ears to a message in which they have as yet no religious interest. For this cause the Gospel has much greater difficulty in finding its way to the hearts of the ruling and well-to-do classes. The sense of misery prepares the way of the Gospel. With the instinct of the child they divine that there is help here even though they are not promised what they at first expect. Many false ideas may still be mixed up with their expectations; nay, they may be wholly on a false track; but the ears and hearts of the wretched are opened to the foreign message. So was it with many of those who appealed to Jesus. They sought healing for their diseased bodies and found something of infinitely greater value. Among the halt and maimed Jesus had his most attentive hearers. The Gospel then as now was preached to the poor, and trials taught men to bear in mind its sayings. The sense of misery, deepened and purified, may ultimately lead to the acceptance of Christianity; its first function is to create a willingness to hear; it kindles a slight hope in hearts that otherwise would have no desire to know anything of the message.

Among the Battaks, as well as on Nias, slaves and the socially oppressed were the first to lend a willing ear to the Gospel and ultimately to venture on its acceptance. The chiefs and the well-to-do for long would have nothing to do with Christianity because it promised them no gain; but the poor and the oppressed soon cried to the missionaries and evangelists, Come and help us. That is more or less the experience of all missions. In India the ruling nations have no desire to hear the Gospel, but the oppressed Aboriginals, the Kols, and Santals are led by their great need to be attentive hearers of the soothing Word. That is several times attested of the Kols by Jellinghaus and Nottrott.[1] A

[1] The Javanese of central Java crowded here and there to Christianity. One motive in this remarkable movement seems to have been that the people

similar testimony is given by Missionary Hoch of the Basler mission-field in India. At first these people have no understanding of the spiritual blessings of the Gospel, or it is lost sight of in their eagerness for temporal benefits which they hope to get by becoming Christians. The standing answer which people of this sort give to the question, why do they want to become Christians is, we want to prosper. That is probably one of the reasons why the uncivilised peoples of to-day who are burdened with social misery and pain are more susceptible to the Gospel message than the satiated civilised peoples. The experience in the mission-field is the same as in Christendom; earthly misery causes men to stretch out their hands for the Gospel gifts.

Part of that misery is famine. The famines in India have repeatedly contributed to the spread of the Gospel. Many critics have ridiculed the "rice Christians," and in some cases perhaps justly. In such calamities large masses of heathen see, perhaps for the first time, mercy, compassion, and deliverance, though not among those of their own religion; that makes them attentive to the Christianity they have hitherto misjudged. In cases of disease heathenism utterly fails, and the sick have a bitter cup of misery to drain. Medical help sought from missions often prepares the way of the Gospel, as we hear from most mission-fields. Thus Missionary Sundermann declares that, on the Island Nias, diseases and the medicine dispensed by the missions are often effective mission agents, and in heathen regions the healing of the sick is often the means of leading to Christianity the otherwise inaccessible heathen. In the care of patients also, missions are following in the footsteps of their Lord who turned away none, not even those who sought Him only as the Physician of the body. The treatment of the sick should not be made dependent on conditions. Missions freely give what they have freely received. That God owns, often in a surprising way, the medical services of His messengers proves

noticed that the Christians could no longer be oppressed and tricked by the chiefs, but were regarded by the government as having the same rights as the Mahommedans.

that disease and the help it gets have their place in God's plan of saving the nations.

Before the heathen divine the connection between their irreligion and their misery they are heartily sick of the fruits of it. This point of view must determine our judgment. The misery under which the heathen groan, and whose pressure drives them to the Gospel of redemption, is a fruit of animistic heathenism. They are reaping what they themselves and their fathers have sown. Hoch says of Indian heathenism: "The anarchies under which these people suffer are in great part a fruit of Indian heathenism. It is, therefore, to be welcomed as a sign of progress that at length their eyes are opening to the disadvantages of their inherited religion, and that they are beginning to see that healing for all their sufferings is to be found only in Christianity. We need not be surprised by the fact that it is outward distress which makes them think of passing over to Christianity. We know what a mighty power the necessities of this life have in making men susceptible to the Gospel. Moreover, the things which according to their poor understandings they hope chiefly to find in Christianity are in themselves unobjectionable. On the contrary, they are valuable and desirable blessings which are necessary to an existence worthy of man; nay, they are blessings that must be described as fruits of Christianity, and as such have their God-appointed significance for the evangelising of the heathen world. The manifold blessings which this life owes to Christianity unmistakably reveals, even to those afar off, the riches of the Gospel, and its powers of blessing for the renewal of mankind."

The sufferings of uncivilised peoples are increased by their wellnigh continuous wars, tribal feuds, and revenge for bloodshed, for "peace they know not." The longing for peace on Sumatra and Nias has often contributed to make those weary of war willing to accept the Gospel. The promise "peace on earth" has to them a pleasant sound, and the longing for outward peace plays a large part in the opening of their ears to its conditions.

All this misery is as a ploughshare breaking up the hard earth. It must not be supposed that in Protestant missions the miserable are received into the church simply because they feel themselves to be miserable, and have a dim hope of there finding help. Protestant missions do not preach such a social gospel. But the great misery of the heathen world prepares the way, and is an ally of missions. It calls attention to a power that has appeared upon the scene with a remedy. This remedy is of a nature which the oppressed heathen cannot in the meantime understand. It attacks the evil at the root; it removes not all the world's misery but it does remove its bitterness. The sense of misery can thus make a breach in the wall of indifference surrounding the heathen heart, through which the announcement of the Saviour may find its way within.

Among the providential pioneers of the Gospel must be also reckoned the longing for education, which is frequently found in the heathen world to-day. Wherever it exists it may become a powerful call to listen to the missionary as the representative of imposing knowledge. The desire for education, whose power they feel in contact with Western nations, is frequently shown both by civilised and uncivilised peoples. In India, China, and, above all, in Japan, the need for enlightenment and knowledge has conquered the traditional dislike to what is foreign. Sanguine people have built thereon great hopes for the victory of the Gospel, hopes for the most part unfulfilled. A people may appropriate the blessings of Christianity without taking over their source, as in Japan, where education is prized simply as a means of power. Missions have taken their share of this work, but only in isolated cases has the desire for education led the aspirant to the root of truth. The course of things will probably be the same in China. And in India, where missions have always taken special pains to spread culture and enlightenment, the desired fruits have not appeared.

The conditions are more favourable among uncivilised peoples. In their former seclusion they thought themselves

singularly wise,[1] but the invasion of European culture has forced on them the humbling knowledge of their ignorance.[2] The desire awoke to gain some of the valuable knowledge of the white man. Many of the animistic notions suffer badly from the enlightening work of education. Where the heathen have no interest in the Gospel message they are eager to be instructed by the missionary in useful knowledge. They prize him for his wisdom; they attach importance to his words; they are willing to learn of him. That opens a wide door to mission work. Though the aged feel that they are too old to learn, the young men come willingly for instruction. That is a glorious opportunity for making them acquainted with the gifts of the Gospel. The evangelising of a district in Sumatra usually begins with the heathen building a school and asking a teacher for themselves and their children. That mostly happens not from any desire for salvation, at least where the petitioners are as yet ignorant of the contents of the new message. In many cases it is simply a desire for education which they think valuable. But that gives the opportunity of instructing them and leading them to Christianity. The state of matters is similar on Nias, and in most missions of Netherland India. It is not likely that all the young people in the school will become Christians, but the school has opened a way into a province hitherto closed.[3]

As heathenism is ignorance and error, Christianity can be recommended as a bearer of wisdom and knowledge. That is very often done. Jellinghaus testifies of the Kols: "What made them specially susceptible to Christianity was their deep feeling and honest admission that they were 'dark' and like stupid wandered sheep in this bewildering

[1] Almost every uncivilised people maintain that they are the real men. Even a people on such a low level as the mountain Damra call themselves Haukhoin, *i.e.* men, true men. The Niassers do the same.

[2] When the Battaks see any product of education that evokes their wonder they exclaim: "We Battaks are still buffaloes."

[3] The negroes on the Congo received the Baptist missionaries with great heartiness. Most of them desired to learn to read and write. It was afterwards discovered that they hoped to be made rich and distinguished by this magic art. Still their desire for knowledge opened the land to the Gospel.

life. We have every reason to presume that their two chief motives were a longing for deliverance from the fear and worship of demons, and the hope of obtaining through the missionary help and counsel in their precarious possessions, and education and instruction for themselves and their brethren." It is reported of the Waganda that the desire for education brought them in crowds to Christianity, and that they were dissatisfied with the rival Roman Church, because it did not sufficiently meet their need of education.[1] A universal zeal for learning was awakened in the Abo tribe in the Cameroons, and brought many to the missionary in spite of the vehement opposition of heathenism.

We often read in mission reports that in the first period of mission work in a heathen region, children and youths develop a surprising zeal for learning. Thus it is reported of the province Zoba (Sumatra) that soon after the advent of the first missionary heathen children and youths could not do enough in learning either inside or outside the school. The same thing is told us of the recent mission among the Ovambo. In Minahassa during Riedel's time it was often the need of education which led the Alfurus to feel that the Gospel was desirable. The missionaries rightly saw in this longing a favourable opportunity for the Christianising of Minahassa, and devoted themselves with all diligence to school work. The hunger of the Alfurus for education sprang from their eagerness to possess and study the New Testament in whole or in part.[2] Missionaries in Madagascar had a similar experience. This eagerness to be able to read God's Word had its origin, not in any desire for the salvation of their soul, but in the hope of finding in the Bible, with which they connected many superstitious ideas, the wisdom of the European.[3] But this defective or even perverse

[1] A characteristic example of how a heathen is brought to the mission by a desire for learning, and gets much more than he was seeking, is given by Trittelvitz, "Die Bielefelder Ostafrika-Miss. A.M.Z., 1908," p. 131.

[2] A regular hunger for reading prevails in Uganda also.

[3] *Cf.* Kruyt, "Inlander," p. 121 ff.—In an earthquake Van Hasselt was asked by a heathen Papuan woman what the Bible said about it; would it be better or worse. The heathen of Madagascar came to the missionary Nilson

conception is capable of paving the way for the acceptance of Christianity. God has planted the love of knowledge in the hearts of the ignorant that in seeking instruction they may find something better.

A kindred fact in the divine leading, which cannot fail to open up the way for the Gospel among the indifferent heathen, is the superiority of the white race that brings them the Gospel. That race takes a dominant position everywhere in the heathen world; the dull eye of the heathen sees there the earthly blessings that accompany Christianity, and learns thereby to value the new religion. The missionary activity of the early Church was without this advantage. The messengers of the Gospel were then insignificant; they were regarded as uneducated; and they sprang from a *milieu* on which the proud Greek and Roman looked with contempt. Other means were needed to draw the attention of the heathen world to the new message which had no worldly circumstance to commend it. Hence God conferred upon His messengers the power of working signs and wonders which evoked the astonishment and reflection of the heathen, and turned their eyes to a preaching so uniquely authorised. In proportion as Christianity was known and became a power which the heathen could no longer pass by with contempt, these divine signs ceased. Such striking signs of the divine power are sometimes, though not very frequently, seen in foreign missions still. We shall speak of them later. The

Lund, and asked him to look into his Bible and see whether a marauding expedition they had planned would come off well (Kruyt, "Inlander," p. 114). The heathen of Thibet frequently had Bibles in their houses which they did not read, but worshipped as idols, and burned incense before them (Kruyt, p. 99). The Washamba regarded the Bible as a magic book in which the missionaries were supposed to find out who had bewitched their sick, or whither their goats had run ("Döring Morgendämmerung," p. 164). Sekeletu, chief of Barotsi, favoured the settlement of missionaries in his country, but was himself unwilling to learn to read lest the magic of the book should compel him to give up polygamy. Robbed Niassers entreated missionary Fries to inquire in the book where the thief should be found, and when he refused they entreated, Be good enough, at least, to curse the thief from the book (Fries, "Rundbrief," No. 26, p. 39).

messengers of the Gospel are not generally equipped with the gift of working wonders, because their position in the heathen world is already outstanding. Representatives of a far superior culture, they excite universal attention. Even in the most primitive pioneer mission, the missionary, whether he will or not, appears to the heathen as the representative of a culture and education at which they gaze with astonishment, as though it had come from another world. By his tools and instruments, by his knowledge and skill, he impresses them as a higher being. The interest of all centres on the wonderful man who is the talk of the country-side for miles around. The feuds and controversies of the tribes are brought before him to be settled by his wisdom. He is expected to cure every kind of disease and infirmity, to have a word of counsel for all, and to bring about a general improvement in the land.[1] This high esteem gives importance to his words. Wonderful as his message is to their ears, they cannot help listening to it because of the messenger. The superiority of the European thus becomes a magic wand which opens the door of the heathen land before the Gospel. Worldly motives are often the crowbar which bores the blast-holes into which the powder of the Gospel can be laid, so as to burst the rock of heathenism from within.

The cordial reception of the missionary by uncivilised men is probably inspired by the hope of obtaining something of his superior wisdom. They hope either to profit from his art and skill, or, under his guidance, to become themselves wise and clever as Europeans. They see that Christian nations are far in advance of heathen nations; if Christianity has made them so, it is worth while to draw close to so powerful a religion. They think of the Christian religion as a powerful magic. That conclusion is partially true, and those who draw it, though still far from the kingdom of God, are not so far as the stupid heathen, who do not even pretend to think about the fruits of the different religions.

In not a few mission fields this superiority of Christian races is paralysed by the dissolute conduct of many Europeans.

[1] The Battaks often say to us: "There is nothing you whites cannot do."

The heathen, who observe them, draw the inference that wisdom and dominion are not necessarily dependent on the observance of Christian precepts. What had meant to be a furtherance thus, through man's guilt, becomes a hindrance.

Another and more constant factor in opening up the way for the Gospel is the influence of the moral personality of the preacher. They see the Christian religion embodied in the evangelist, and divine some of its excellences long before the Word preached has made any impression on them. Two things in the messenger of the Gospel strike them as great and attractive—his love and his truthfulness. The missionary's love and compassion is a completely new thing to the animistic heathen. Heathenism is sheer unveiled selfishness. His parents apart, no Animist has ever had to do with a man who showed him an unselfish love. Everywhere among uncivilised peoples, mission workers find that the heartfelt compassionate love of the messenger is the first thing that makes an impression on the hard heathen heart. They meet enlightenment with passive resistance and with the teaching of their tradition; but all their weapons miss fire against merciful love. Not only those who afterwards become Christians, but hardened heathen can be moved by the love of the messenger. The heathen as well as the Christians in Battak land call the missionary their father, and that is no mere phrase. They confess, "My father was not, my mother was not, what thou hast been to me."[1] The love which the messenger bestows on them and their children awakens in them feelings of whose existence they themselves were formerly unaware. It creates in them a new emotional life. Now and then we hear them extolling the white man who does not shrink from handling their disgusting sores, from sitting with them in their dirty huts, from taking in their

[1] After two years' labour among the savages on the Island Samosir, I was called elsewhere and had to leave. The love and gratitude for love exhibited at my departure was beyond anything I could have thought possible. Heathen men whom I had never trusted wept like children (which they are not in the habit of doing), and called me their father, their mother, their grandfather, who had loved them more than their own parents.

sick, and the like. The missionary's treatment of the sick has opened many a closed door, as is attested by the whole literature of missions. The nearest way to the heathen's heart, and to make him willing to listen to the good message, is unmistakable charity on the part of the messenger. So soon as he is convinced of their love and kindness will he incline his ear to their words.[1] Fries declares: "The missionary in placing all his gifts at the service of a seeking and serving love will feel that he is following Jesus. The sermon in action is understood long before the sermon in word; it acts immediately, a call from heart to heart acts even on those naively selfish natures."

The missionaries in Kaiser-William's Land, in twenty years' patient work among the Papuans, have experienced the great influence of the disinterested love of the messenger of the Gospel upon the savage heathen heart. An armed heathen once came to Kunze the missionary, and the latter asked him, "Do you want to kill me?" The man answered that formerly he would have killed him if in the mood. "But I cannot do it now. Thou hast buried there the missionaries Klaus and Pillkuhn and thy wife; when I think of it my bowels become weak." He had felt something of the missionary's love, ready even to face death. In thinking of dead missionaries and missionaries' wives, a Papuan would say, "He (or she) had such a soft eye when he looked at me that my bowels were pained." Krumm, the missionary on Nias, when his wife died, had the same experience. Siwahumola, the head-hunter, who was once so much feared, said to him, weeping, "When I heard that the mother had gone away I felt as if I had been strangled. She loved us." And then he went on to recount all manner of proofs of the love and kindness the young wife had shown him. In like manner, the death of the young beloved

[1] "This invaluable personal credit, which is the primary condition of a useful influence among uncivilised heathen peoples who are ignorant of life, faith in the purity of his aims, in his harmlessness, disinterestedness, and good intentions, must be acquired by every missionary who opens up a new field of benighted heathenism." That is how Schneider formulates this important factor of personal mission work.

missionary Stahlhut in Ovamboland made a deep impression on the heathen. Many visited his widow and wept with her. The dying of Coillard's wife was fraught with blessing to the heathen. Müller testifies of the Anglo tribe among the Ewe that the devotion with which the missionaries nursed those wounded in battle won the heart of the Ewe and brought about a sudden change in their relation to the missionaries. Hoch says of the Indians, that the provident care of the missionaries, their philanthropic activity, and their unselfish aid have a mighty influence on those who are yet far off from Christianity. Kruyt says: "The missionary must begin by gaining the confidence of the people; his personality must speak more than his words; for he must never forget that at first his preaching of the Gospel is listened to entirely for his sake, and that all preaching is useless unless the hearers have confidence in the preacher. This confidence is the way by which God's spirit comes into their hearts and does its work." And confidence is gained by love.[1]

Next, the truthfulness of the evangelic messenger commends him to the heathen. This is a new virtue to most heathen peoples, if not in idea yet in reality. Before the arrival of the missionary our Battaks never saw a man whose word they could believe, and it was the same with the Niassers, Alfurus, Papuans, and many others. No wonder they distrusted the missionary at first, and suspected that he had all kinds of secret designs. But now he has lived for some time among them, keenly watched by hundreds of suspicious eyes. Gradually they see that this man never speaks an untruth, never pursues secret plans with craft and deception, but speaks exactly as he thinks. The more this observation is condensed into experience the more they are

[1] Charity makes its impression even on Mohammedans, the fanatical enemies of Christians. The Hospital of the Rhine Mission in Pea Radja (Sumatra) forces many Mohammedans to admit that such love is found only among the Christians. Of course the explanation is at once given by their leaders: "Yes, the Christians nurse our sick and do them good, but that is just what Allah has determined, that they should perform this lowly service to believers."

inclined to believe him, in virtue of an empirical conclusion; in the end, however, they trust him with all their heart. His disinterestedness, his love and truth, have opened the way to their closed hearts.

That means a great deal, for it leads them to believe his message; not to the extent, certainly, of submitting to it or applying it to themselves, but they believe that the mysterious words of the man who has been proved truthful must be true. They know that the messenger has no desire to dupe his hearers, and no selfish designs. The words must be good, because the preacher has already proved himself a reliable man. Compassionate love and unswerving truthfulness will carry the missionary further than proofs and disputations. "Honesty and truth are weapons which the heathen do not know, for all wise heathen are cunning diplomatists. Hence these weapons swayed by love inflict the most abiding wounds."

The Rhine Mission laboured for two decades in New Guinea without any visible results; no one had any desire to become a Christian. Yet the missionaries remained of good courage, and would not hear of giving up the apparently unfruitful field, for, as was shown on many occasions, they had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Papuans. There is now a real movement towards Christianity on that island. Their trust in the missionaries made the savage Iraono Huna, in Nias, celebrated head-hunters and men-stealers, come to the missionary Krumm, along with their dreaded chief Siwahumola, and embrace Christianity in a body. Doctor Winkler, a medical missionary, expresses himself on this matter as follows: "Only after confidence is established in the missionary, does preaching, the Word of God, law and Gospel, gradually find willing ears, reflection and comprehension. Confidence in the missionary, proved reliable in earthly affairs, passes on to the new teaching he brings. If the one is true and reliable the other is true and reliable also. Confidence in the missionary in earthly affairs passes into trust in spiritual things. Confidence in the person of the missionary leads to confidence in the God

of the missionary, who so often stands visibly by him, and who, as he declares, loves them also, and is able and willing to help them in marvellous ways as has often been already seen. That again leads to trust in the Saviour of whom the missionary never wearies of speaking and testifying." The confidence which Livingstone was able to plant among the savages of Africa opened that dark portion of the earth to mission work. How often have missionaries been able to mediate between colonial governments and an excited population because they had its confidence; or even between warring tribes, both of whom were convinced of the good will and incorruptibility of the messenger of peace.

A preparatory influence of a personal kind on the part of the bearer of the Word must therefore, as a rule, precede the reception of the Divine Message. The printed or written Word may partly replace the personal among educated heathen, but among lower peoples the message in and by itself and its contents will only in rare cases be effective. A warm, loving, personal influence is needed to melt the wall of ice that is around the heathen heart. The moral feeling that hitherto has slumbered there and defiantly closed itself against the moral demand of the Gospel responds to the person who appeals to it. The remnant of moral feeling still in the heathen draws him to the moral person as the magnet awakens the kindred magnetic power in the iron. The consequence is an appreciation of this person, nay, more, confidence, and finally responsive love. That secures a basis for the preaching of the Gospel.

Most of the peoples who have had a missionary among them are now governed by a European colonial government. Though this government cannot regard it as its work to Christianise the tribes over which it rules, nay even though it be unfavourable to mission work, it cannot fail, as the representative of humanity and enlightenment, to help unconsciously to prepare the way for the preaching of the Gospel. It does so in two ways. A civilised colonial power contributes to the shaking of heathenism, not by forbidding

the heathen to practise their religion nor by suggesting to them to become Christians. The Holland company in Netherland India did that, and drove thousands into the arms of the Christian Church, though not to their salvation. Nowhere is anything like that done now. But a colonial power may find it necessary to prohibit many heathen customs which are closely connected with the religious tradition, such as cannibalism, head-hunting, human sacrifices at festivals for the dead, trial of witches, judgments of God, killing of men in order to obtain charms from their corpses, burning of widows, and many others. These are all usages which support the animistic religion, and their prohibition by authority means the breaking up of the animistic tradition and of the system. The whole tradition loses its power. The gods (*i.e.* ancestors) no longer served in the way they desire, must turn their backs on their descendants who deem it better now to put themselves under gods whom they can worship in an acceptable way. These gods are either the Mohammedan Allah Kaala or the God of the Christians. In this way the Holland executive power in Netherland India has sometimes played into the hands of Christianity.[1]

[1] Take one example of this kind of opening the way. One of the districts of Minahassa which long resisted Christianity was Tonsea. The heathen State, that is, the religious tradition, was there preserved as far as possible by the priests, though the structure was rotten. Now the great man of Minahassa, Resident Jansen, came one day into the very heart of Minahassian heathenism when they were celebrating a sacrificial festival of ten days. The Resident saw how the well-being of the people was retarded by such festivals, how the labour of the past was used up in a few days, and the people reduced to want during a great part of the year. The feast also kept the people from their work for days. The result of this discovery was that the Resident ordained that no festival should last longer than three days. Resident Jansen issued this decree in the interests of the people; assuredly he was not fully conscious of the fact that his command was giving a serious blow to the heathen state (*i.e.* the religion), for Kruyt regards state and religion as closely connected. It was supposed that where the gods could no longer be served in accordance with the usage the whole state (*i.e.* religion) must be changed, and the people of Tonsea became Christians. The influence of the government may be overrated here. Other motives may have been at work, and the limitation of the sacrificial festival may only have furnished the occasion for carrying out a long prepared revolution. But the co-operation, the purely outward preparation of the way by the civil power, is clear from this and

A civilised government also abolishes slavery, which is closely connected with the religious state tradition of heathenism. Freed slaves will detach themselves from the national religion more readily if they owe their freedom to European help. A curb is also put on the pernicious influence of magicians and fetich men. They are no longer uncontrolled in their evil work, though the craft is not abolished. Cruel trials by ordeal are no longer possible. All that deals a severe blow to the heathen tradition, which was a completed whole.

But the second way is more important. The Colonial Government puts a stop to the endless bloody feuds of tribes; it creates freedom, and the conditions for undisturbed evangelising work. We are right in regarding the universal peace produced by Rome's universal sway, as a preparatory act of God opening up the way for His Apostles, and rendering possible the preaching of the Gospel in many lands. Mission work can have little success among uncivilised heathen peoples who are left politically to themselves. The acceptance of Christianity by the people is rendered very difficult, and it is often expressly prohibited, under the sway of despots, great or small, as in Ashantee, Uganda and Netherland India. Constant tribe feuds and bloodshed not only make the heart unwilling to receive the Gospel, but make regular preaching impossible; they also endanger the existence of the little communities that have been won.[1] But where peace is secured, and the capricious sway of little tyrants broken by a firm colonial government, every subject is placed in a position of freedom towards the evangelic

similar facts which Kruyt reports. Here is another example from the Rhine Mission. The Holland government found itself recently compelled to undertake a punitive expedition to the island Mentawey, west from Sumatra, which ended without bloodshed by the mediation of the missionary Lett. On this occasion the cruel hanging of witches and the ruinous sacrificial festivals were forbidden. The result of this prohibition, which cuts so deeply into heathen custom, was that the population, formerly extremely cold, began eagerly and in great numbers to attend the Christian worship, and to send their children to the mission school.

[1] When war prevails in the independent regions of Sumatra, in Uluan, and Samosir, no one can venture to go to church or school, for even women and children would be mercilessly attacked and killed.

message. The chief may perhaps play tricks on him who listens to the Word, but he has no longer power to forbid his subjects to do so. The Rhine missionaries who work under the peaceful sway of the government of Holland gratefully acknowledge the blessings which they owe to it. In Sumatra, as well as in the whole of Netherland India, not only the missionaries, but the oppressed population desire to come under the Colonial Government. Here and there the hope that the Government will follow the missionaries, leads the heathen in their longing for peace to accept Christianity; or they are heard saying, that as soon as the Holland Government takes us over we shall become Christians, but there must be peace first. Once the law of might is broken everybody breathes freely, and no one is disinclined to accept the "religion of peace." Thus Kramer, the missionary, on Nias writes: "The notorious robbers just mentioned (Baluhalu, Sitambaho, Bawaduha), who formerly extended their predatory excursions in all directions, have, through the mediation of the missionaries and the Christian chiefs of Lolowua and Sogae Adu, submitted to the Holland Government. These people now desire to have missionaries sent to them.[1] Sometimes the tormented people expect that the missionary will follow the government, sometimes conversely, that the peace-bringing government will accompany the mission.[2]

We have no desire to overestimate the significance for missions of a humane European government. People in the end are brought into the Christian Church by inward motives. There is a great distance between the first readiness to hear the word and the inward acceptance of it with its far-reaching consequences. But it should be gladly admitted that a wise and benevolent Colonial Government is one of the powers which God has chosen for bringing the message of salvation to uncivilised peoples. On the other hand, unfortunately, we know well that European rule is

[1] Quoted in Kruyt, "De Inlandsche statet," p. 93.

[2] In like manner the European Government in Ashantee, Uganda, South and East Africa, has created conditions in which the preaching of the Gospel may peacefully, and therefore fruitfully, be carried on.

accompanied by tributary currents that may hinder the spread of Christianity. On the whole, however, the salutary influences predominate. All the means here sketched of opening up the way for Christianity are instruments which God puts into man's hand to help in preparing the way for the coming of His kingdom. They are auxiliary scaffolding, superfluous when the building is completed. Necessary, they are yet not among the building forces.

We have still to speak of another and a deeper kind of preparation. In most cases traceable to natural causes, it is yet an immediate revelation of God's own action with its purpose of salvation, which enters the life of the heathen and draws the attention of the blinded people to that which makes for their peace. The finger of God is more visibly and more frequently seen in the mission fields of heathenism, warning the ignorant that now is the day of salvation, than it is in Christendom. We have already seen that foreign missions to-day are not necessarily accompanied by manifest wonders, as in the days of the apostles, because there are other means of gaining the attention of the heathen. But the marks of God's mighty presence are plainly perceptible in mission work to-day. God sometimes condescends to show the helplessness of their gods, and His own power to the heathen who know Him not. He sometimes condescends to punish blasphemers, to accompany with His blessing remedies given by His messengers in great weakness, to answer the stammering prayers of those who would like to know whether His power is with them, and in marvellous ways to preserve his servants. The Battak mission has witnessed many clear interpositions of God, especially in its first days. The missionaries were several times preserved from attempts on their lives. They have taken poison without any injury, and restraint was put upon their enemies, such as to reveal to Christian and heathen alike the finger of God. The Nias mission has had the same experience, especially in the western region, occupied by Lett and Reitze, and in the district Lahusa opened up by the

missionary Krumm. But for such clear proofs to the heathen of the Divine power, these two provinces could hardly have been held, though in both a rich harvest has been gathered in under marvellous conditions. The reader of missionary news will frequently come upon instances of such things, reminding him of the experiences of Old and New Testament messengers of God. Such experiences strengthen the faith of missionaries and their helpers in their many trials, striving with the dark powers of heathenism, unsupported by Christian fellowship. The critic will find it easy to assail these acts of God, but they are precious to those who experience them, mission workers, heathen, Christians and heathen, and they produce blessed and permanent results.

We shall have to return to these proofs of God's power later when examining the powers and gifts that issue from the Gospel. They occupy us here only so far as they belong to the preparatory means, for in most cases they appear only where the Gospel has already found an entrance, and add to the knowledge of those who are susceptible. But we must enter here into a fuller explanation of one phenomenon in which the act of God and the inner life of man are closely interlaced. God often influences the inner life of the heathen by dreams and visions in such a manner that all psychological explanations leave something inexplicable. The function of these is, to point to the Gospel, as yet little heeded. In the Battak Mission the attention of the heathen was frequently drawn to Christianity by dreams. Many heathen Christians speak of dreams which had a decisive influence on their lives. These are still more frequent on Nias. An old priestess there dreamed that the dead ancestors of her kindred appeared to her and said that the new religion was good, and if they would all follow it they would be reunited with their ancestors. The dream made a profound impression on all the relatives to whom the old woman told it, especially the prospect of being united with the ancestors. The Savage Iraono Huna on Nias were led by a dream to accept Christianity. The wife of Solago, who afterwards became a leading supporter of Christianity, dreamed that she

saw, at a great distance, a large man with his feet on the earth and his hand reaching to heaven. He became smaller and smaller till, as a little man, with a white garment, he sat down on a stone and said: "I come from heaven and have to ask you people of Lolowau if you go to church at Lahusa? Are you willing to follow the teaching of God?" Then they prayed together, and he once more exhorted her to go to the missionary that he might show her the way of life. Next day the whole village came to be taught, and the idols were thrown away. This dream had a decisive effect upon the whole district. Others dreamed of a good spring which rose up near the mission house or came from the city of God. Heathen of Lahomi were commissioned by a dream to follow the custom of the missionary, and thereby return to the "old custom," *i.e.*, the original, true religion.

Buttner, in his essay "Träume und Gesichte in der Mission," has brought together a great mass of material on the subject. He distinguishes between edifying dreams and those for rousing the indolent, and, lastly, visions of the dying. He tells of many dreams which pointed the heathen to Christianity as something salutary. Before the advent of the missionaries the Konde were forewarned by a visible phenomenon in the heavens that men would come with a message which they were to receive. The missionary Colditz got a friendly reception on the Mosquito Coast because an Indian had once seen in a dream a white man who summoned him to send for missionaries. Missionaries, before their advent, were also dreamed of among the Kols. A zealous idolater among the bush negroes of Suriname was warned in a dream and commanded to testify against idolatry, and to go in quest of missionaries. He then became a devoted evangelist. Individuals are forced by dreams to become candidates for baptism. Rottrot says that individuals among the Kols received divine announcements in the form of visions and dreams showing them the meaning of their efforts, and determining their wills to this or that step.

Miescher also brings together many examples of significant dreams, from the Kols, from the Gold Coast, from a Kaffir

youth, and from the Hottentot leader of African huntsmen. He also speaks of "forebodings that sound like predictions." Hoch declares that, among the Indians, dreams and visions often play the part of messengers of God to draw the attention of the heathen to the gospel which, as yet, they do not know, or to confirm the word which they have heard.[1]

Kruyt has devoted a chapter of his book, "De Inlander en de Zending," to dreams, in which he shows that dreams are realities to the animistic heathen. They believe that in sleep the soul leaves the body and really experiences what is dreamed. In particular, the soul keeps up intercourse in dreams with dead relations, and receives orders from them. Seeing that contact with his ancestors means much to the Animist, he attaches great value to such dreams. Nothing more effectively prevents uncivilised man from accepting Christianity than the fear of wounding his ancestors by a change of religion. Now, if one of those dreaded ancestors should, in a dream, counsel him to follow the new religion, that would be a powerful incitement. It would shake to the foundation his belief in his former religion. Kruyt distinguishes three kinds of dreams, those which contain a prediction, those which lead to conversion, and those which relate to the condition after death. The Church at Lamongan came into existence through a revelation given in a dream. A frequent dream is of the coming of white men (Nias, Minahassa). A Dayak dreamed that the heathen had a sad lot, and the Christian a pleasant one in the other world, and, therefore, he desired to become a Christian. "Where man cannot be brought to salvation by higher motives, God makes use of means based upon the thoughts and feelings of these uncivilised men. The dream is such a means. Dreams yield them no spiritual instruction, no deep utterances; but rather very material directions in

[1] "In 1899-1900 the famine in Jeypur was preceded by a report that all who had no friend would die. The rumour issued from Puri in Orissa. The Chief Priest there was absorbed in the Revelation of John, and prophesied to the times: 'Seek for a friend or you will die.' When we came with the answer, Jesus is the best friend, hundreds closed with the Gospel."

harmony with their natural hardened hearts. The main thing is that their hearts are thereby opened to the action of the gospel. God, in His great love, takes the natural man as he is, and trains him for His child."

Merensky says that among the Basuto "dreams were frequently the means by which heathen already quickened were driven to decision. The contents of the dream seemed to us to have no meaning, but the heathen felt differently, and frequently received abiding impressions from it. Many believed that they had seen the Lord in a dream, and had received commands from him.[1] Skrefsrud the Norwegian missionary reports the following dream by an old man among the Santals. He dreamed that a man appeared to him and said, "Go from thy village to a place which I shall shew thee; thou wilt find something which thou wilt take to the missionary, and he will explain it to thee. Thereby thou wilt receive life; and then thou wilt bring it to others." He went to the place by night, and after long waiting found a piece of written paper, which he carried to the missionary. It was a Christian Santal poem, and this the missionary used to expound to him the message of salvation. He came to Christ, and laboured to bring his village to the truth.[2]

Old predictions also prepare the way for the acceptance of the Gospel. Döring the missionary tells of a man in East Africa who had heard from his childhood of an old prophecy current among his people, that after the time of the Arabs would begin a time of white people, and these white people would be taught of God. About the end of the eighteenth century an old man of the black people in Africa, a Kaffir, gathered all his children round him and said, "Dear children, I have a presentiment that in a short time good people will

[1] A certain Masadi dreamed that the last day had come; another time he saw in a dream a paper flying towards heaven and heard a voice saying, "So art thou to go to heaven when thou diest"; the third time he saw the glory of heaven in a dream. The man then learned with great zeal. Many other examples are given in this book.

[2] King, afterwards a devoted evangelist among the Saramacka, was determined by a dream to give up idolatry. His way was marked out in the vision in its minutest details, and his whole village afterwards followed him.

come to us from afar, who will tell us that our souls at death will go to either a good or a bad place. Now as soon as you hear that such people have come, do not remain here, but go forth and hear them." The most unique instance of this kind is reported of the Karens. Among them was an old prophecy, which was occasionally repeated by a magician in an ecstatic condition, that their deliverance would one day be brought about by white foreigners. These men would have the "word of Ywah" (God), which the Karens had lost, and which the white men would bring them. The universal hope of white foreigners who would bring them God's book opened the way for the Gospel in many provinces. The Karens evangelists were received by the heathen everywhere as soon as they appealed to the universally known prediction about the book of God.

Visions, which are on the same level as dreams among uncivilised peoples, may serve as signposts. News of an extraordinary vision among the Papuans was recently brought from Kaiser William's Land. People came one day in great excitement to Hanke the missionary, entreating him to come quickly to their village. There he found them all solemnly assembled, and was told the following story. In the interior of the land a *lan tamo* (man from heaven) has come to earth with his child. He has broken all weapons and magic implements, and has commanded the Papuans to pack up their heathen utensils in baskets. In a separate basket he has packed kernels of all kinds of fruit, as a sign that it was he who created all things and that they are his property. In a third basket he has placed a child. The occult worship, the kernel of the Papuan religion, was false, and all utensils connected with it must be burned. But all that the missionary had said to them about the words of God was true, and to him the baskets must be given. They then placed the baskets before Hanke. He says that the affair is something which he cannot altogether understand, but adds, "This much at any rate is certain, that under the Divine guidance a fire has been kindled by something which I cannot fathom, and it continues to burn, though accompanied with much smoke."

The following Saturday twenty-three men applied for instruction with a view to baptism, and next day they were joined by nine girls and two women. This vision seems to be the beginning of a change. For while the results gained by twenty years of painful mission work were virtually nothing, heathenism is shattered to its basis by this event, and the number of candidates for baptism has steadily increased.

The psychological interpretation of such dreams and visions, numerous enough if collected from mission reports to fill volumes, is that the heathen who associate with missionaries are more or less keenly taken up with the new religion, and that their dreams reflect thoughts and incitements in them which have hardly risen into full consciousness.[1] The high opinion which the Animist has of dreams as means of bringing him into contact with a supernatural world will make anything that comes to him in dreams, and whose connection with his own inner life he does not see, affect him more powerfully than intellectual reflections. God, like a wise teacher, condescends to the child-like thought of uncivilised man, that He may tell him, in a way he can understand, things which he would otherwise hardly accept.[2] We cannot fully explain these soul-processes without the thought of the Divine influence working there, for they are often opposed to the knowledge and will of him who has them, and force him to actions for which he can find in himself neither the power nor the inclination. That, however, does not imply that false ideas and misunderstandings may not be mixed up with them. It is not a question of revelations, but of rude shocks meant to point them to the revealed truth.

We must not banish such experiences to the realm of fable.

[1] Such a man may have deep impressions and stirrings of conscience which he can neither understand nor realise. Such experiences assume in dreams, however, a form intelligible to him. Several examples of dreams with important results are given by Krüger, "Die Mission der freien Kirchen der romanischen Schweitz," p. 169.

[2] We see the condescension with which God adapts Himself to man's understanding. To us, on whom the sun of truth has risen, He reveals Himself in His word ; to those who sit in darkness He reveals Himself by the candle-light of dreams and the like.

They are too well attested; and they are met with everywhere among animistic peoples with considerable regularity. Neither must we overestimate them. They have nothing more than a preparatory significance; they lead no further than to the door of the Gospel. Like other Divine reminders they may be disregarded; they may also be misinterpreted and abused. Anyhow, in innumerable cases they have fulfilled their purpose of pointing stupefied heathen to the gift of the Gospel, which they had hitherto overlooked. In such divinely influenced processes of soul, which have abundant parallels in the Old and New Testaments, we see the sway of God, whose sovereign hand interposes in the destiny of men and turns their hearts like the water-brooks.

The same Divine interposition produces another kind of preparation which remains to be discussed. The attitude of heathenism as a whole to the Gospel is rigid and repellent. All the more surprising is it to find in the majority of mission fields, truth-seeking souls who in the most trying circumstances, with all around them hostile to the new religion, open their ears and hearts to the foreign message. These are people who have fallen away from the traditional national religion, not fruits which it has ripened; men predisposed by God, men in whom the presentiment of the living God, almost dead in the average heathen, has been awakened and raised to become a longing; men in whose hearts a chord vibrates at the first preaching of the good message. These men with their *anima naturaliter christiana* are called to be guides and interpreters of the Christian religion to their heathen countrymen. They are wedges driven into heathenism. The final object of mission work is the christianising of the nation, and the missionary must not hesitate to baptise these individual forerunners as they might be called. For these men are destined to be a blessing. The herd requires individual leaders with the courage to break through the tradition and show the multitude that they can become Christians without suffering any harm. The whole odium of the violated tradition will of course fall first

on them, and they will seldom escape a martyr's death. But that only strengthens their own faith, and increases their power to draw others after them. The sufferings of the righteous contribute, as so often in history, to the salvation of their people.

The task of missions must certainly not be limited to snatching these predisposed souls from the general ruin, and gathering them into a community of the elect.[1] There must be a clear consciousness that these men, as stones first broken from the wall of heathenism, serve to open an entrance to the fortress, that they are given to missions to help the conquest of the nation. The work of the missionary would be narrow and paltry were it restricted to gaining and nursing these seekers for God. But we may heartily rejoice in them, for they are given in a trying time to show that even a stubborn heathen people may become Christian. They are a guarantee to the pioneer missionary of the power of God, which will ultimately shatter the citadel of heathenism.[2]

Most mission fields have been dowered by God with such first-fruits. The Battak Mission had one or more extraordinary men as pioneers in every new province that it entered. Nommensen the missionary, settled under the greatest difficulties and dangers at Silindung, a province till then completely closed, was soon joined by a chief Radja Pontas; for prudential reasons he was not at once baptised; but by his decided attitude, and his personal conviction of the truth, he gained an entrance for Christianity among the 15,000 inhabitants of the valley; nay, he helped to spread it far beyond the valley. Such a forerunner can exercise a far greater influence on his people than the foreign missionary. When the province of Toba, a fortress

[1] Zinzendorf certainly advised his missionaries not to work directly on any heathen in whom there was not a happy disposition to an honest behaviour, because it was just those, *e.g.* Cornelii, Candacaeus, etc., to whom Jesus sent his messengers (Roy, "Zinzendorfs Anweisungen für die Missionsarbeit," A.M.Z. 1892, p. 336. That was a wise precept for the beginning.

[2] These individual personalities sent by God are gold coins in the earthly reward of the missionary. It is they chiefly who sustain him in his work when he can see few results (Bohner, "Wie ich den Heiden predige," p. 20.

of heathenism, was attacked, some souls were found there quite unexpectedly, who seemed to have been waiting for Christianity, and who rendered possible its entrance into the heathen region, champions who, after the majority had become Christians, towered a head above all the others. When doing pioneer work in Samosir, I also received the gift of a heathen prepared by God, a former magic priest, whose heart God had touched. At the first hearing of the Divine invitation he threw away his idols and magic implements, and began with his family to lead a new life; he became an unwearied evangelist among the heathen who could not understand his change of conduct. This man had much to suffer, but he was to the front in all work, a genuine gift of God to the mission. Work has recently been begun among the heathen in the north of the Toba Sea, and soon there also was seen a heathen equipped by God and ready to help. Before the arrival of the missionaries he had been led in marvellous ways to doubt heathenism, and had been brought to Christianity by a Gospel of Luke that had come into his hands. His history is all the more surprising, because no other Battaks can read. The oral word alone has any chance of being understood, and that only where the understanding is slowly opened by regular instruction and constant illustration.

Lett, in his Memoirs, tells of a heathen Ama Gahonoa, afterwards baptised as Fetero, who met him with open heart at the beginning of his work on the west coast of Nias and appropriated the Gospel with unsuspected and inexplicable susceptibility, conformed his life to it, and then earnestly set himself to lead his fellow tribesmen to Christ. The missionary Krumm was also gifted with such a man, one of the savage head-hunters, Solago, who, inwardly shaken by a so-called little heart-book, opened all the chambers of his soul to the good message and shot far ahead of his fellow-countrymen.[1] The missionary Fries, in his pioneer work, has

[1] The experiences of Krumm, who died at an early age, are better fitted than most mission reports to illustrate the dominion of the living God in missions.

recently spoken in his reports of such a man prepared by God. "The more I grasp the course of the Christianising of our Nias people; the more I come to see that the gaining of the whole people for the living God is the only basis for the training of the individual to faith, the greater is my gratitude for the conversion of our Ama Dahambawo, who in his inmost heart has grasped the essence of the matter and is now giving it forth to others. Such men are not laboriously sought and won; they are given by God and must be prayed for as a gift from God." To the missionaries in Dutch New Guinea God gave a man who very soon received the Gospel with all readiness while all others rejected it, a proof that on the hardest soil God's Word can make flowers spring up which the Heavenly Father hath planted. The Rhine missionaries in Ovamboland in the beginning of their difficult work found a seeker for God, a very distinguished firstfruits who was baptised by the name Abraham and soon proved himself a zealous evangelist. In Bapediland Merensky quite unexpectedly came upon four people who, amid the darkness had been longing for the Gospel and who were strong enough and fearless enough to confess the Lord before their heathen countrymen and their chiefs. They had long been praying to God to send them missionaries. Merensky narrates the career of these men who originated a mighty movement among their people.

We can thus see that, on many mission fields, God is fitting out men among the peoples to be evangelised. The forces of heathenism characterised above and the hindrances resulting therefrom are powerless over such men; and the bridges necessary elsewhere do not need to be built for them, facts that might have been deemed psychologically impossible. They venture boldly to leap the gulf between heathenism and Christianity, between darkness and light, between falsehood and truth, because God has led them and equipped them in a different way from the multitude. Missionaries, surprised and gladdened by their presence, see in them no fruits of their own patient labour, and no ripe sheaves of heathenism, but rather the immediate gifts of

God. We do not mean to say that these men are at once finished Christian characters, but from the first hearing of the Gospel they cease to be heathen; they go a swifter and surer way into the sanctuary than is possible to other heathen. God creates such men for Himself, because He means to use them as pioneers among their people, and gratefully we behold in them a proof of the prevenient grace of the Almighty.

Such facts should enable us to appreciate the factors which prepare the way of the Gospel in an unsusceptible heathen world. Sometimes this and sometimes that element prevails, according to the peculiar character of the people. But in the case of animistic heathenism generally those factors will be discovered in the helps we have named, the heathen sense of misery, their longing for education, the superiority of Christian races, the personal influence of the messenger of the Gospel, the influence of Christian colonial authorities on the heathen, divine interpositions and previous labours of truth-seeking souls. These, as a rule, must first do their work if the Gospel is to find hearers, and call into being the presuppositions needed to reveal the Gospel's power.

Having considered the nature of animistic heathenism and the grounds on which it rejects the Gospel in principle, and having taken account of the preparatory factors, we can now enter on our main question. If greater or smaller groups of heathen not only voluntarily give up their traditional religion, but are made new men by the Gospel, what are the forces which the Gospel thereby reveals? Our simplest course would be to let the heathen Christians themselves answer this question. They can best give account of their inner experience. Well, so far as we have utterances of theirs we shall gladly present them as crown witnesses. But unfortunately we have little material of this kind at our disposal. We can easily understand that heathen Christians, coming over from Animism, will not be quite able to give a clear analysis of what goes on in them or of the forces which determined them. It is with them as with a convalescent.

He feels the returning health; he rejoices in the strength coursing through his feeble body, but nobody asks him to give a logically clear description of his condition. What interest has he in the dissection of his vital powers? It is sufficient for him to feel their effects. Any one who wishes to observe such powers must be at a certain distance from them. The young heathen Christians who have come from Animism are as yet scarcely equal to such a task, which demands a psychological and theological training. We are therefore thrown back on the facts and on the observation of mission workers; we shall draw our conclusions from these with all care.

III. THE VICTORIOUS FORCES OF THE GOSPEL

We may take the course of mission work among the Battaks as typical of modern Protestant missions among animistic peoples. When heathenism first meets Christianity it decisively rejects it.[1] But gradually by patient, persistent work individuals are won, who, however, are thereby alienated from the national union. Ten or fifteen years elapse: then secessions increase, the strong tension between heathen and Christian is lessened, the attractive power of the Gospel increased, till whole communities, provinces and tribes pass over to the Christian camp. To-day, after forty-five years' labour, the land has been partly Christianised, and the time is not far distant when the majority of the people will break with heathenism and come over to Christianity. A similar experience in other mission fields shows that this is due not to any chain of fortuitous circumstances favourable to the work of Christianising, but to the vigorous action of laws and forces. The mission on Nias, almost contemporary with that to the Battaks, passed through the same development. There was the laborious preparatory work, and now the time is perhaps not far off when the whole island will become Christian. The mission to the Kols, the Karens, in Uganda, on the Niger, in the South Sea, as well as the earlier missions in Minahassa, Ambon, etc., passed through the same experiences. No civilised heathen nation as a whole has yet been won. But that does not prove that the powers of the Gospel tell only on uncivilised peoples.

[1] The first missionary who visited Sumatra was courteously but decidedly told to go away. The two who followed were murdered and eaten. Then came the Rhine missionaries, whose first messengers had to fight with a resistance they found it hard to subdue.

In Japan, in China, in India, there have been many individual conversions and many Christian congregations formed. In these civilised countries, for reasons which cannot be here discussed, the forces of the Gospel have not been so fully at work.[1] The soil of most uncivilised peoples has been better prepared for the reception of Christianity; in civilised lands a longer work of undermining is needed.

What is it that induces the heathen to give up demon-worship? What are the forces of the Gospel that mature their resolve and translate it into action, that renew the nature of the man who is won, transforming ultimately whole peoples and putting them in full possession of the Gospel gift? We do not speak here of the motives that lead to the secession of individuals or even of groups. These may be of an accidental character; they may be surface things; occasions not causes. These do not reveal the powers of the Gospel. Such motives certainly are subject to Divine control, but they are only bridges leading across to the new land. We have dealt with these already; they follow from the diverse manners in which the way is prepared for the Gospel message. Heathen may turn to Christianity in search of help in great distress; in the hope that it will give them wisdom and social advancement. They may be drawn to it by the superiority of Europeans, and by the benefits of their civilisation; by the hope of all kinds of gain from the love of the missionary; by a longing for peace, etc.

Our own religious experience teaches us that the Gospel contains many diverse powers. In the heathen world also it brings into play a multitude of powers. The diversity of its gifts renders it acceptable to diverse people. To the Jew it commends itself as the religion of fulfilled prophecy; to the Greek as the true wisdom; to the Roman as the perfect law; to the German as the ideal service of the Lord of heaven. Mission preaching, in spite of its simplicity, may be infinitely rich and present to every one something that

[1] Many reasons for this fact may be gathered from our discussions in the second chapter of this book.

helps him afterwards to grasp the whole. Harnack says of the mission preaching of the early Church: "In innumerable cases decision was produced by one single ray of the light; one man was gained by the Old Testament, another by the exorcism of demons, a third by the purity of Christian life, another by monotheism or by the prospect of eternal life, or by the depth of its speculation, or the social standing which he thereby obtained."[1] In like manner Hoch says: "The many-sidedness of Christianity, based as it is in the variety of the gifts it offers and in the equally various needs of the human heart, cannot but suggest that the Gospel for more than one reason must appear to the heathen worthy of all acceptance. If Christ is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption, it follows that a desire for any of these gifts may lead a human heart to Christ. "The light is comprehended in very different degrees and from the most diverse standpoints, and the salvation that is in Christ has also many aspects."

We need not expect to see the whole fullness of the Divine power operate at once upon the heart of a converted heathen. Sometimes the foreground is occupied by this, sometimes by that power which yet never remains in isolation, but must labour to draw the others to itself. What are the aspects of evangelical preaching most likely to win the Animist? In all probability these will be whatever meets a felt want in the heathen heart and promises satisfaction to a rudimentary capacity. So far and so far only does the message find prepared hearts. There are empty places in the heathen heart which Christianity seeks to fill. Nothing in the Gospel will make any impression on the heathen save that which brings an answer to some conscious or unconscious question of his heart. The Gospel appears to a heathen worthy of acceptation when it brings a gift which meets some defect of his religion; a defect which he perceives at once in the light of the offer. That gift, making him conscious of his earlier destitution and error, necessarily appears to him valuable. If the Animist had a painful sense of his

[1] Harnack, *l.c.*, p. 87.

low moral condition the first thing that would make Christianity desirable would probably be its morality. This may be, in isolated cases, but not as a rule. A knowledge of the characteristic features and forces of animistic heathenism will show us how to trace the workings of the Gospel.

One of these characteristics is uncertainty. The answer which animistic heathens give to every deeper question is: "We do not know."[1] They become conscious of this lack of certitude only when confronted with religious convictions differing from their own. The messenger of the Gospel comes to them with a definite announcement, some sure information about God and their relation to Him, about the origin and destiny of man, the life after death, good and evil. The preacher's certainty about things which the Animist assumes to be generally unknown is impressive to him. He feels painfully his own uncertainty. At first the effect is merely formal. The appearance of certainty anywhere impresses the uncertain. Before the heathen have attained to any clear conception of the contents of the message, and whatever may be the attitude which they take up towards it, the certainty of its preachers and adherents makes them, for the first time, feel the uncertainty of their own inheritance taken over by them unthinkingly. The missionary activity of the Church of the first days had a similar experience, though their experience rested on a different psychological basis. The multitude of religions, each contradicting one another, made men utterly uncertain; and it drew them, in that consciousness of their ignorance, towards the Christian religion, which made a categorical demand for faith. Harnack says of this: "We should be greatly mistaken were we to assume that the bold summons to believe the authorities, and dismiss reason, acted on the majority of men as a hindrance to their accepting the Christian religion. The contrary was certainly the case. The more peremptorily and exclusively a religion insists on the demand for faith, the more certain and reliable it will seem to the majority to be;

[1] See pp. 75-81.

the more it deprives them of the duty of responsibility, and of reflecting on the truth of it, the more will they welcome it. Every authority confidently asserted has a quieting effect. Moreover, the most paradoxical dogmas, such as mock all experience and rational reflection, are most welcome; they seem to offer a guarantee that they contain not merely human, and therefore unreliable, but divine wisdom."[1] That is a description of a formal power possessed by evangelic preaching, the power of authority, as contrasted with the uncertainty pertaining to heathenism.

The Mohammedan propaganda has also the benefit of this overmastering power of conviction. It, too, asserts something of whose truths the preacher is absolutely certain. It sustains its position with fanatic zeal weakened by no doubt, and thereby it puts to rout the uncertainty of heathenism. Islam neither proves, nor persuades, nor disputes; it simply asserts, and what has heathen ignorance to oppose to such imperious certainty?

The human soul has a craving for certainty regarding all that pertains to the supersensual world. Hence, the heathen clings to his priest, glad to have some one on whose knowledge he can rely. He listens to the words of inspired mediums, and obeys them because they are professedly reports from a world of which the multitude admittedly know nothing. Hence, also, the anxious clinging to tradition, and to all the customs inherited from the fathers. The representative of the Christion religion bringing a message which is yea and amen meets, in this way, a need of which the heathen was not formerly conscious, but of which he becomes conscious at the call of that assured proclamation.

If the messenger of the Gospel, therefore, wishes to make any impression, he must himself have sure convictions. Should he come without the assurance that he is bringing them the absolute and true religion, his words will find no echo in the hearts hungering for certainty. In the contest with Islam he will be defeated. He must be convinced that he is divinely commissioned; he must be prepared to suffer,

[1] Harnack, *l.c.*, p. 222.

and to stake his life on the truth of his message. That alone can awaken the corresponding conviction in the hearts of the heathen. Let him admit in his heart that Christianity is not the absolute truth, but only a good religion, the best, perhaps, existing, and his power is gone. Formally considered, his preaching would make no impression. "Unless he (the missionary) is firmly convinced that he is bringing the heathen something which they lack and which they need; that Christianity is meant for all mankind; that it contains the truth; he had better remain at home, for he will work in a half-hearted way, and his words will lack the compelling power which attends only upon words sustained by faith's absolute assurance."[1] The immovable certainty of faith is the only power capable of bringing over to itself men of another way of thinking, and of satisfying the hearts of ignorant men who are longing for something certain. The man not firmly convinced that Christianity is a religion for the whole world will lack the power which that conviction gives, and had better give up all thought of mission work. Such a missionary "comes to the heathen saying, I bring you a new religion; but whether it is the perfect religion I do not know. He would be a very simple heathen who would be tempted by that kind of preaching to give up the religion in which he was born and bred." Speaking from his own experience, a missionary declares that "preaching to the heathen must be very definite. The preacher must, at all times, be ready to lay down his life for what he preaches. No sermon will make any impression on hard heathen hearts that is not delivered with perfect assurance. I have always found that the form in which the prophets preached to the common people is the standard for preaching to the heathen. . . . They stand forth as messengers of God with a, Thus saith the Lord . . . Preachers to the heathen should know that they are owned of God when they firmly believe in the words they preach." Every foreign missionary will agree with that. Firmness

[1] Mirbt, "Die innere Berechtigung und Kraft der Christentums zur Weltmission," p. 464.

of conviction is the only thing that begets confidence in the words heard ; the certainty of the preacher communicates itself to the hearers.

It is important to notice also that this bearer of certain knowledge has, by the purity of his life, shown himself to be trustworthy, and has led the heathen to put faith in his words. When such an one accompanies his proclamation of the saving acts of God with the emphatic declaration : We are His witnesses, His testimony cannot fail to make an impression. Clearly, then, the testimony of living men has advantages, many and great, over that of the written or printed word. The printed book certainly brings a sure and authoritative knowledge, but it lacks the support of a trustworthy witness, staking his life on the truth of his message. Among uncivilised peoples a personal offer of the Gospel is the necessary thing. The written or printed word is ineffective for the most part, at least, in purely heathen regions. Its power of testimony is only among peoples whose faculty of judgment is more developed.[1]

Missionary preaching must therefore take the form of assertion. It was so with the preaching of the Apostles. They testified of what they had seen and heard. They did not prove or persuade, but asserted ; they starved, suffered, and died for the truth of their words, so they won hearts, mastered by the certainty of a message in itself strange and paradoxical. Certainty about the declared acts of God is never produced by proofs or disputations ; it leaps up in the hearts of the hearers like the electric spark. The thing proclaimed lies in a region inaccessible to logical or historical proofs, on the further side of better understanding or want of understanding. The dogmatic

[1] Tracts and Christian literature can only be of use in those parts of the heathen world where men are accustomed to draw their knowledge from books, or where some knowledge of the Gospel has percolated from neighbouring regions and awakened curiosity to learn its contents. Moreover, the heathen is prone to connect superstitious notions with the "book" of the missionary, which he supposes to be a book of magic (*cf.* p. 167, note 3). It is often advisable to leave the book at first in the background. It has no authority where God is not yet known.

form of presentation by a personal witness, confirmed by the suffering of that witness for the truth of what he says, has proved successful in every foreign mission-field, whether among civilised or uncivilised peoples. The lost wanderer must have the right way pointed out clearly, categorically. The positiveness of the guide gives him confidence, and it removes uncertainty; he strikes into the direction pointed out, and never asks for proofs.

This, I repeat, is a formal power of the Gospel. The spread of Mohammedanism and of grievous errors in the Christian Church proves that a false message, delivered with the certainty of conviction, may be believed. It is necessary that other powers of the Gospel come into operation. For heathenism is not merely uncertainty; it is a complex of powers. But as uncertainty belongs fundamentally to animistic heathenism, and constitutes the essential weakness of its position, the evangelic preaching must enter the arena as a witness sure of its convictions if it is to win a home for its victorious powers. Entering the lists against the powers of darkness without an immovable confidence in its victory, it is defeated ere the battle is begun.[1]

Heathenism is burdened with uncertainty because it is built upon a lie. We saw above that lying powers are at work in heathenism fettering the ideas of truth which it contains, and begetting an atmosphere of falsehood wherein the animistic heathen are as ready to lie and deceive as they are to be deluded and deceived in the most shameless fashion.[2] This lying power, which has disordered the heathen's power of judgment in moral and religious questions, is opposed by the Gospel as objective truth, as a message which must be true because it comes from God

[1] "The heathen must be made to feel that the missionary is speaking about something on which, he is convinced, life and death depend. They must get the conviction that he speaks because he believes, and desires above all to make them also believe, that they may become the children of God and heirs of the kingdom of heaven."

[2] See pp. 88-96.

Himself. That brings something entirely new within the horizon of the animistic heathen, a religion professing to be revealed. The idea of revelation is an idea unknown to animistic religions. None of the religions of the Indian Archipelago or Africa has ever conceived of God making Himself known to men.[1] All their religious knowledge is derived from the ancients, not from god or gods.

What is the attitude of animistic heathenism to this assertion of the Gospel that it is revealed by God? We should have expected the heathen to reject emphatically this offer of absolute truth as a thing unproved and unprovable. But that is not so. So long as the missionary is little known, such objections may be heard as, How do you know that your religion is from God? If you can raise the dead we will believe you. But this is said only by people who have no conception of the new message, or by those who have good reasons for turning aside from them the sharp sword. Such sayings also soon cease. The greater number treat the Gospel with indifference; some treat it with hostility: but it is not its claim to be revelation that gives offence. Those who have resolved to be hearers of the word, and who have confidence in its herald, find no difficulty in this idea of revelation. There is no need to demonstrate its probability or possibility, for no one doubts its reality. Something in the preached Gospel convinces the heathen of its divine origin. During my evangelistic work no heathen ever asked me how he was to know that the message was true and that it came from God. The heathen's attitude is one of simple assent or rejection; no one objects that he has to do with a message from God or from the God of the white people.[2] What

[1] Mohammedanism only appears with this pretension. But it has borrowed this idea, which is foreign to polytheistic heathenism, from Christianity, whose servile imitator it is.

[2] Among the Christian as well as heathen Battaks the Gospel is called "God's word," among the Niassers "God's custom" (law); Christians are called "those who have God's word." Standing under an illumined Christmas tree in Sifaoroasi (Nias), a heathen exclaimed, "So all that our priests say is bodiless (*i.e.* without reality, fraud); what the missionary says

ultimately deters many from appropriating the "word of God" is not doubt as to its divine origin, but reasons belonging to the moral sphere, unwillingness to make themselves dependent on God, or too great indolence to reflect on the impressions they have received. The truth attests itself.[1] The Indonesian would meet all reasonings of human wisdom with doubts or subtle rational objections, but heathenism based upon lies is shattered by the simple truth. Nourished on lies all his life, the heathen is convinced of the truth of revelation, even when he does not yield himself to its discipline. Contradiction, elsewhere so beloved, is silent in its presence. That the message professes to come from God Himself is its attraction. The heathen thirsts for authority, and he is willing to submit to it if he is convinced that behind the authority is power. In presence of the Gospel, which is grounded on the authority of truth because it comes from God, he acknowledges the falseness of his own religion, even when by no means inclined to give it up.[2] The communication from God, attested thereby as divine, contains in itself the evidence of its certainty. The Ten Commandments, also, with their definite "thou shalt," "thou shalt not," are impressive; the heathen hears in them the voice of God. In Sumatra and Nias we have often seen the deep impression which the Decalogue made, and the absolute approval it met. There is something strengthening to one's own faith in seeing the immediate effect which the word of truth has on rude heathen hearts.

The self-attestation of revealed truth in the heathen world

is not his own invention, but is obtained from God's word." That saying was not inspired by authority, but was spoken quite impulsively under the impression of the Christmas message.

[1] Paul can make the same boast of his heathen Christians. They received the proclamation which they heard of him, not as the word of man, but as it is in truth the word of God (1 Thess. ii. 13).

[2] An important heathen Ewe said: "The axe is a very little weapon, and it is applied to the thickest tree. Christians are the brandished axe, their number is small, but they will bring the great tree of heathenism to the ground." Christians, therefore, are freed from the observance of heathen laws. For "we have no desire to be found always striving against God; we

is possible only because it meets a natural need of the human heart. Even the most depraved heathen longs for contact with God, and therefore for authentic knowledge of Him, a knowledge which God alone can give. Revealed truth, however, unless it were a power from God, could not have such effect on heathen minds which, entangled in a system of lies, have lost all knowledge of their position and all capacity for judging. The revelation which the heathen needs for his recovery is not a knowledge of the supernatural gradually wrought out by the thinking portion of mankind; for such spiritual culture the animistic world is far from being ripe; it would come into disastrous collision with the course of the people's development. But the experience of missions proves that the heathen are ripe for a self-communication of God and that they understand it at once. The claim of Christianity to be a religion revealed by God seems to offer to heathenism the broadest surface for attack, for it gives and can give no proof of this necessary foundation for all its offers and demands. But no heathen ever asks for such proof. He has an inner experience of the truth of what he hears. There is something within him that responds with the certainty of an echo.[1] It is not credulity; it is that he is mastered by it: it is not want of judgment; it is that he is inwardly laid hold of by the Divine.

The message of revealed truth appeals to the conscience, that is, to the organ for the Divine in man. Stunted as this is in the heathen, it is awakened by the offer of the truth. As the iron, buried it may be for centuries in the earth, responds to the magnet once in contact with it, so the long-buried conscience turns to the Divine word at its first call. This appeal to the conscience is also supported by the Spirit of God. The heathen feels inwardly the power of the truth.

have seen that it is vain," said the heathen (*A. M. Z.*, 1883, p. 46). It is not a mere phrase when Battaks again and again answer: "Your word is true; it is God's word—but I have this or that to do before I come."

[1] A candidate for baptism in Ovamboland said to the missionary Wulfhorst: "Teacher, it is true; surely, surely, it is true; God's word is true. I feel it; I have something of the peace of God. Really, really it is so. I feel it in my heart."

He is never troubled by doubt. Heathen Christians and catechumens have many sins and weaknesses of all kinds, often somewhat gross; but they know nothing of one thing that gives us much trouble, namely, doubt of the truth of the message that has come from above.[1] The mission of the early Church had the same experience. Paul, in his Epistles, gives us many a glimpse of the defects of his communities, and these are sometimes very great; but it is significant that he never needs to argue against doubt. He comes into conflict with doubters only once, viz., in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, but it is not the fact of Jesus' resurrection that is called in question, for the Apostle makes the raising of Christ the basis of his demonstration. No heathen Christian questions the truth of God's deeds as declared in the Gospel. I have never heard of a catechumen or heathen Christian turning back to heathenism because he could not master his doubts. Doubt of the truth, that is to say of the divinity of the evangelic news, never barred the way to faith on the part of an animistic heathen. When a Christian falls away to Mohammedanism or relapses into heathenism it is never because Islam or the religion of his fathers seems to him to furnish a surer guarantee of truth than Christianity; it is always the result of practical considerations, family entanglements, fear of martyrdom, earthly mindedness, and similar motives, the worthlessness of which he himself admits. Animistic heathen are certainly credulous and open to various influences; a superficial observer might be inclined to attribute their assent to the truth of the Gospel to their credulity. But this credulity is found only within the precincts of their own religion; they believe every magician and soothsayer, and though often deceived have confidence in their magic arts. Everything outside that is reviewed with deepest distrust and rejected with caution. If, notwithstanding this, men still far from thinking of secession

[1] The doubts which are sometimes opposed to the missionaries' preaching in India, Japan, and China are mostly borrowed from the European armoury. Genuine heathenism has no doubt regarding the Christian message.

recognise the Christian preaching to be true and have no doubt of the fact of its revelation, the power that conquers their distrust must lie in the truth itself, which by its simple utterance approves itself divine to hearts that are even antipathetic. To the heathen wandering in the mazes of lying and uncertainty, with hearts darkened and brutalized by fear and demon worship, the truth comes; it shines into them and makes them susceptible, which proves that their hearts have an affinity for revealed truth.

Again it is clear that only those who believe that the Christian religion is revealed by God can count on winning the heathen by the power of the truth. They only go forth in the belief that revealed truth cannot but conquer heathen hearts; like Paul they renounce the arguings of reason and the by-ways of worldly sagacity and proclaim the revealed acts of God, sure that these carry their own commendation with them. A missionary who does not believe in the revelation of the Christian religion cannot rely on its power, and he will make no impression. For the heathen themselves have a religion non-revealed, and what they need is contact with God. Nothing but a message claiming to come from God Himself should ever enter the arena against animistic heathen; it only can have any possible superiority in the eyes of the heathen to the religion they have inherited from their fathers. They believe they can oppose to every other religion one of equal value. If we give up the claim of bringing Christianity as a revelation of God to the heathen world we must be content to see that world, sooner or later, passing over to Islam, for Islam claims to be a revelation, and by that claim the heathen national cults will be put to rout.

If we do not go to the heathen as bearers of a revelation we have no right to destroy with brutal hands their animistic view of the world or rob them of their fatalistic belief which gives them strength amid the wretchedness of life. Their own religion is in that case really better, for it is in harmony with their spiritual level and their capacity. The missionary who is not inspired by the whole Gospel revelation will really

have nothing to reply to the protest of the Animist: "Our religion is good for us as yours is for you." Were Christianity merely the highest stage of human development reached as yet, it would be no more suited to people at the beginning of that development than the higher civilisation that is also a sudden irruption among a primitive people. That civilisation not only produces caricatures, but is often more a curse than a blessing, because they have not gained it by their own efforts. The Christianity which is a product of the human mind would only be suited to the developed portion of mankind who by their mental discipline are capable of understanding it. It could not be of any advantage to Animists and polytheists, because they would have to pass through all the stages of religious development before they could inwardly appropriate it.[1] The watchword would then be not the evangelisation but the education of the nations. Or, more correctly, it would be to leave them to themselves; for any interference in their strange mental life would only derange the natural course of their development.

The Gospel however claims to come from God; it is meant for people of all stages of culture and can be understood by all. The joyousness with which Animists receive the "word of God" proves that, in spite of their feeble intelligence and perverted morals, they are ripe for its reception. The idea of revelation justifies itself in the heathen world. We see here an inherent power of the Gospel, the power of truth, the communication of the Divine brought by God Himself to humanity, and conquering from within all human errors. Here lies the secret of the success of foreign missions.

Convinced of the reality of this power the missionary must still guard against one danger. He must not endeavour to augment the power of truth by violent assaults on

[1] "Christianity has then lost the advantage of absolute superiority; it takes a special place in the religious development. It will have a beneficial influence solely on the first and immediate stages of that development. If it comes to men on a much lower stage it will confuse them" (Kähler, "Angewandte Dogmen," p. 358).

heathenism. Certain of the unique power of his message, he should refrain from trying to demolish the idols and symbols of heathenism, whether by violence or by mockery. That makes no impression on the heathen, at least not the impression which the messenger of the Gospel intends when he ridicules their religion, when he disputes with mockery or irony, or with rude hand destroys their fetiches and amulets. Viewed from the Christian standpoint, heathenism seems for the most part a caricature of religion, yet to the heathen himself it is a sacred and serious thing. He has a right to demand that his religion be so treated. Mockery of his religion means to him mockery of religion generally. That path may lead to irreligion; it does not lead to a new faith. Any one who wishes to restore the heathen to health by an operation must proceed antiseptically; he must see that no poisonous germs of decomposing mockery adhere to his knife.

The missionary inclined to disputation and raillery will at first know far too little of the heathen religion to be able to direct against it any effective shafts. Instead of hurting idolatry he will make himself ridiculous.[1] His ironical assertion, You worship wood and stone which are devoid of life, will call forth laughter, for no Animist worships wood and stone; the carved figures conceal soul-stuff in a special degree or are animated media of spirit worship, such as the ancestor images of the Niassers, Papuans, etc. If he tries to make a sacrifice ridiculous by saying: The food offered is not consumed by the spirits, for it remains where it was placed, he only betrays his ignorance of the animistic idea of sacrifice, for no heathen believes that the spirits appropriate the matter of the food: it is the soul contained in it, the vital power, which they take from the sacrifice. The important

[1] Merensky, *l.c.*, p. 131: "We rarely ventured to argue against the heathen views and usages of the people, because this required an exact and profound knowledge of this side of the people's life which at that time we had not." Missionary Becker in East Africa got, from a man whom he sought to reason out of his superstitious notions, the answer: "There are things you do not know, because you have only been a short time with us. Later, you will come to know."

thing even for living men is not the matter of the food they eat but the soul which it contains. The missionary has, therefore, every reason for keeping in check his mockery. The dreadful power of heathenism over men's minds would have weak foundations if it could be overcome by such cheap polemics.

The breaking up of images and the destruction of sanctuaries do not in the mind of the heathen injure Europeans, but they injure the natives. Suppose that a missionary in Dutch East India or in Africa should demolish or disfigure an idol and then say: You see that your spirits do nothing to me, therefore they are helpless, and I advise you to leave them,—what impression would he make? Those concerned would think: the white man has spoken well, the spirits have no power over him, for he is under another god and belongs to another people; but their wrath will fall on us. No heathen will see a proof of the weakness of his gods in a European escaping hurt. "We summoned all the gods of the Toradja and challenged them to punish us for preaching about the living God, but the Toradja told us that the gods could do us no harm, but might do them harm." The savage Papuans on a voyage were afraid of an evil spirit. To prove the groundlessness of their fear the missionary, Van Hasselt, began to row himself, but the only result was to make the Papuans say: "The spirit will do nothing to you white men, but he may harm us blacks." The same reply was heard on Lake Nyassa. The Basutos thought that the God of the white men is their God whom they serve, but the Basutos, if they would be happy, must serve their own gods. Schneider says of the bush negroes of Suriname: "If the missionary seeks to prove to them the impotence of idols by violently attacking them, he is told: 'Our religion is only for us blacks and therefore such things do not injure you. We, on the contrary, would be smitten by the judgment of the gods.'" In the early days of mission work in Sumatra, the Battaks would allow no missionary to enter their sacred grove: they did so from no fear that harm might befall the white man, which indeed they would have wished. No; they

were afraid that the insulted spirit would avenge himself upon them, his worshippers, bound to him by oath.[1]

Iconoclastic measures excite their anger, for Animists believe that the iconoclast, without endangering himself, is bringing danger on their head. Experienced missionaries are, therefore, very cautious in their polemics. Van Hasselt, after twenty-five years' work among the Papuans of Dutch New Guinea, says: "I have given up all keen disputation against idolatry and against the peoples clinging to it. I am not entirely silent on the matter, but the power of preaching is not there." A Shambala said to a young missionary in East Africa: "You must not think that we are not pained by your saying that the words of our fathers are lies." [2] It is not wise to disturb the sacrificial festivals or cut down sacred trees where the soil of heathenism has not been prepared.[3] The European does not thereby prove to them the impotence of their idols, he only wounds their religious feelings and increases their fear. It is different later when heathen Christians themselves are bold enough to smash some image of the ancestors, or cut down a sacred tree. Their polemic is felt to be conclusive by their countrymen, for they

[1] The Papuans of Dutch New Guinea thought the missionaries were to blame for an epidemic. The ancestors were angry because of them, but smote their grandchildren, not the offender (Van Hasselt, *l.c.*, p. 148).

[2] In the island Ceram, Domine Brund destroyed and burned the "Devil's house," the heathen temple in Kaibobo. The result was a firmer adherence to heathenism. In Duma (Halmahera) the missionary Van Dijken publicly burned spirit houses (little houses of the dead) before the church. Heathenism raised its head higher in reaction against the deed. When a Romish priest forcibly snatched the amulets from a Madagascar chief and threw them into the fire, the chief in his wrath slew him. The missionary Feyne, on the Niger, incautiously raged against heathen usages, human sacrifices, killing of twins, poisoned cup, etc., the only result of which was that the King of Onitsha reproved him, and allowed him only to preach about subjects he approved. That forced him to discontinue public worship. The missionaries Spieth and Ostermeyer maintained in the discussion of the Bremer. Kontin. Miss. Conf., 1905, that it is utter folly to provoke the heathen by railing against their errors ("Verhandlungen," p. 103).

[3] The Hindu considers that tolerance belongs to the noblesse of a religion of the importance of Christianity. A propaganda which employs any constraint makes him distrustful (Stosch, "Indien," p. 213).

too are under the evil-bringing power of their demons and ancestors.

Rösler testifies that such polemics have no convincing power among the Shambala. "We might try to ridicule the objects of their fear: and this is the procedure which the novice is inclined to follow. He takes up boldly a little magic vase such as is hidden in the maize field, and shatters it. Or he meets a serpent, and sends a ball through its head, and says: Why are you stupid blacks so superstitious? Don't believe all these absurdities. That earthenware vase and this dead serpent cannot harm you. Yes, yes, Bwana, is cried from all sides, we are very stupid and you are right. We do not believe in these things. It is only our medicine-men who have so trained us. But next morning these same blacks may be seen running again to the oracle with their old fear, and if they reflect at all on what the European said to them the day before, they say to themselves, 'Ah, yes! it was easy for him to speak; he is a white man and himself a great magician to whom the magic of our greatest magician can do no harm.' And should they once more encounter the same European, they will take good care to show him no more of their superstitions. 'It would only make him deride us!' No, this path again and again has been proved impracticable." Even Zinzendorf warned his first messengers against such tactics. It is dangerous "to correct or punish with untimely zeal people who do not belong to our camp,—that is, to challenge the swine to turn and rend us."

Heathen religiousness is determined by fear. But fear is never removed by derision or mere violence, as we see in the case of frightened children. Heathenism is groaning under a burden of misery and need. Who would care to add to the grief of miserable men by pouring the contempt of mockery on their unhappiness? The great Apostle to the Gentiles, pattern for all missionaries, in spite of occasional irony, neither destroyed nor ridiculed any sanctuary. The officials in Ephesus testified of Paul and his companions, "These men are neither robbers of churches nor blasphemers of our gods" (Acts xix. 37). It is of no use to mock the doings of the

magician and brand them as deceptions. The heathen simply do not believe the missionary when he says so. No one acquainted with animistic heathenism will venture to say that everything done by the magician or the spirit medium is absolute deception. Anyhow the heathen are firmly convinced that the spirit of their ancestor speaks to them through the medium, and that the magic priest is able to traffic with spirits. Mockery will only injure the mocker in the eyes of the blindly believing heathen. The weapon of derision should be wielded only by those who have been themselves involved in the whole entanglement of lies as deceivers and deceived, and have been delivered from it, *i.e.* heathen Christians and, above all, converted priests. I have often seen striking results from the witness of one such person among the heathen. The solemn awe of the people in presence of the dreaded man has only to be seen to make one feel that his throne is too firmly established to be overthrown by derision. But if this dark profession, and if heathenism in general, is inspired by powers of darkness, we must seek sharper weapons for the conflict than those of sheer violence or contemptuous ridicule.

Uncivilised men are deeply impressed by the superior wisdom of white men, but the impression is not deep enough to make a mocking word or a brutal act of violence to shake their allegiance to the religious traditions in which their lives are rooted. The messenger of the Gospel will not, of course, conceal his view of the heathen religion; but he will not make such discussions the starting-point of his message; he will speak on the subject, but never offensively, and only in connection with the positive offer of the new religion. We do not bring the spring by plucking off the withered foliage; the new buds must push aside the old dead leaves. When the negroes in Suriname were called on to destroy their idols and give up their heathen cultus they answered, "We shall not cast out the dirty water till we have got clean water."

It is impossible also to convince the animistic heathen of the falseness of their religion, and of the truth of God's revelation, by means of logic and deductions of reason.

Religious life is not produced by logical expositions, and religious errors are not conquered by enlightenment.[1] Civilisation and education have failed to uproot old customs and superstitions among European peoples, educated and uneducated alike. Even in Christendom, nothing but inward religiousness, that is a true relation to God, conquers superstition and false religious notions. For that reason we do not agree with those who would first educate the heathen, in the hope that their absurd superstitions will melt away before the rays of enlightenment. Were this theory true, the most highly educated heathen people would be the most enlightened religiously. But the crassest superstition and fear of spirits are rampant in India and China as formerly in the brilliant Roman Empire. The Animist heathen has no desire for religious enlightenment. No doubt he would like to fathom the white man's arts, and possess his muskets, machines, and wealth; his religion, however, remains unshaken by the magic of European education. The Animist cannot imagine how any one can offer him education without religion. Strange as Christianity is to him, he understands that one religion may be exchanged for another if it seems more valuable. But to the native, enlightenment without religion is absurd.[2] Religion is in no way affected by any instruction in mathematics, physics, astronomy, and history; fear is not removed; the power of falsehood is not broken. Education with all kinds of intelligence is one of the many fruits of the Gospel promised to this life, but they are fruits, not roots. The Gospel, with its gift of reconciliation with God, is the only foundation capable of bearing walls; on that foundation culture and education can be built, but not conversely. Heathenism can only be affected in and by its root.

There is another thing the missionary will gladly do, though

[1] Utschimura was not interested in rational proofs. His opinion is that the Japanese will not be converted to Christianity through the understanding.

[2] The feelings of heathen and Mohammedan are alike on this point. The irreligious Europeans are an enigma to the Javanese. They simply cannot understand that there are men without religion, and think that the so-called irreligious are secretly cherishing a religion which for some reason they conceal.

fully convinced of the unique truth and power of his message; he will carefully search out the elements of truth that exist in a heathen religion, and which are frequently buried under a mass of superstition. He will treat the heathen as seekers, and take a sympathetic interest in their religious life, even in its errors. He will believe the heathen when they tell him that in their ceremonies they are seeking "life." The searching eye will discover many features which are manifestly life-utterances of a soul created for God. He will rejoice at seeing how all the events and undertakings of heathen life demand the consecration of religion. The messenger of the Gospel will take a kindly interest in the wanderer's search for God, his sense of dependence on the supernatural, and rejoice to trace it through all its errors. He will find there connecting ideas and bridges for the communication of his own mind to them. The δεισιδαιμονέστεροι will be to him more desirable hearers than the religiously indifferent.

Protestant missionaries agree in thinking that their duty is to liberate the dim remnant of God-consciousness existing in heathenism, and win thereby a position from which the preaching of the new faith may begin to be understood.[1] A dim sense of righteousness is slumbering in the heathen's heart. In matters of conduct there is a strange confusion about moral ideas. But running through their heart is a remembrance of purer moral standards, which has not sufficient energy to translate itself into action, but which has yet sufficient vitality to keep it from being entirely

[1] This is emphasied in all discussions about preaching to the heathen. *Cf.* G. Warneck, "Evang. Missionslehre"; III. i. p. 131; ii. p. 95; Bohner, "Wie ich den Heiden predige," 3 f.; Hesse, "Heidenpredigt in Indien"; Zahn, "Die evangelische Heidenpredigt," p. 72; Dahle, "Verhandlungen der Kontin. Miss. Konf.," 1905, p. 103. The earnestness and loving sympathy with which heathen religions are studied by Protestant missions, and the grains of gold sought for, is proved by such works as; Dilger, "Die Grundzüge der Missionspredigt in Indien" (*A. M. Z.*, 1890, pp. 505 ff.); Stosch, "Einige Grundbegriffe der Religion in tamulischer Sprache"; Kruyt, "Het Animisme; *idem*, "De Inlander en de Zending"; Brutzer, "Die Geisterglaube bei den Kamba"; Gloyer, "Die Heidenpredigt"; Spieth, "Die Ewe-Stamme," etc. No one has more diligently studied the science of religion or done more to further it than missionaries of all denominations.

quenched in the swamp of immorality. God, the Creator, is not everywhere an article in the heathen creed, but the idea is lying at the bottom of their hearts, and forms a basis on which further knowledge may be built. Many veiled reminiscences of truth are found: sacrifice, the certainty of a connection between this world and the next, the memory of days that were better than the present. A unique religious practice which contains elements of truth is found among the Battaks. We mention it as an example. When any one has been long pursued by misfortune the magic priest declares that he is under a curse for some crime in his family not yet atoned for, some secret transgression of the custom. The father of the family betakes himself, along with the magician, to a hill where sacrifice is offered; then he lays his hand on a swallow and on a beetle; his guilt and its curse are thereby transferred to them. The creatures are then allowed to fly off with the curse. This atoning act is called "making the curse fly away." That betrays a dim sense of personal guilt, with, of course, an animistic twist. Exact study will show similar features in every heathen religion.[1] The Kols have a legend, almost Christian, about a Son of God, who, in order to redeem miserable men, became man and a leper. The legend of a flood as a punishment on a wicked humanity is met with among many heathen peoples.[2] The missionary will carefully gather such sayings, and make a skilful use of them in his sermons. "Nowhere is Christianity when in contact with heathen peoples confronted with a *tabula rasa*; there are elements

[1] The Niassers believe that Bauwa dano, who carries this earth on his shoulders, produces earthquakes by violently shaking himself when the wrong of men, *i.e.* Niassers, has become too great. Men are then frightened, and remember that they have often perverted justice. The chiefs are assembled and the law is proclaimod anew in presence of the whole people, the just measure is uniformly fixed, and all cheating condemned. If the earthquake has produced a fissure anywhere the solemn judicial assembly meets there, and swine, hens, and money are thrown into the chasm as an atonement for the wrongs committed. What a magnificent occasion for the introduction of Christian ideas. The terror lasts only as long as the earth trembles to its foundations.

[2] *Cf.* p. 101, note 1.

not merely repellent, but also attractive; there are ideas not only of a totally customary order, but also of a kindred nature, with which it can enter into connection."

Kanso Utschimura expresses himself on this point as follows: "To Paul, and people of kindred spirit, heathenism is not something to be laughed at, or even to be pitied, but something to be understood, something into which one must think oneself, and treat with consideration and Christian kindness." Utschimura asks us to appreciate the favourable side of Japanese heathenism, and declares that it is "the virtuous people (in heathendom) who have most desire for Christianity." "If we heathen were only a little better than the higher apes Christendom might give up its mission work as hopeless. But we can be led to the Cross of Christ, just because we have some knowledge of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood."

But these scattered elements of truth are only points of connection for evangelic preaching.[1] They are like hooks on which we may hang up a picture. But the picture must come from another source. Their value is in their connection with the positive message of salvation. The feeble rays of light have been unable to prevent heathenism from losing God or from moral ruin.

Whatever has anything divine in it is true. The truth convinces the heathen because its contents are the living God. That is the secret of the Gospel's power. This living God is brought to the heathen world by the evangelic message. Heathendom is far from God.[2] It has a dim sense of the Supreme Deity, but God is dimly felt, not possessed. Animistic heathenism has not God; it has a relation to

[1] In that recognition (of the existent religiousness) we must beware of confounding two very different things, points of connection for the influence and foundation for the building. Wherever we find religion and religiousness we shall find connection for Christianity; they lie in the heart of man and in the tradition. On the other hand, the so-called highest religions of culture furnish no available basis for a fruitful evangelising. There is no basis here for Christian faith, no equivalence, but only thorough opposition.

[2] See pp. 96-108.

demons, but has lost the true God. The Gospel promises to meet this want of heathenism. Its message is: There is one God, the Creator of heaven and earth and men; He is almighty, the only Lord, and He only is to be feared and worshipped. That is the first positive information the Animist has ever had of God; God becomes to him a living person and not a nebulous shadow. That knowledge has a mighty emancipating effect on the polytheist, who has hitherto believed that he is surrounded by a host of malicious spirits and lower deities. How blessed the thought of having to do with one God only! That the message of the true God has such a redeeming effect on the heathen heart is possible only because it meets an inherent need of the human soul. The saying of Augustine, "Tu fecisti nos ad te (*cf.* 1 Cor. viii. 6: ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν) applies to the heathen as well. The heathen will suffer under the pressure of a mistaken destiny until he is united with the unknown God whom he has missed, and whom he has sought in wrong directions. For man was created to find his destiny in communion with God. The wanderings of thousands of years have not been able to kill this predisposition. The dim sense of a destiny unattained abides with him on his erring way, impelling him to seek out the Deity. It follows that the announcement of the true God is one of the truths laid hold of in the heathen world as soon as declared. The idea of God, which lies dormant in heathenism awaiting resurrection, has had sufficient vitality to open the heart to the preaching of the truth and to make the polytheistic heathen understand and accept the message of the one living and true God.

Ustchimura touchingly describes the liberating effect which the knowledge of the one God had upon his mind and heart. "I was now taught that there was only one God and not many—over eight millions, as I had formerly believed. Christian monotheism laid its axe at the root of my superstition. . . . My conscience and my reason said Amen to it. One God, not many—that was a glad message to my soul. I was no longer under the necessity of making a long prayer

every morning to the four groups of gods in the four parts of heaven and to the god of every temple that I passed. I no longer needed to consecrate one day to this and one day to that god with vows and with abstinence from definite things. I now marched proudly past the temples with head erect and conscience unburdened. No god of that temple could punish me for prayers that had been omitted, for I knew that I was protected by the God of gods. My friends soon noted my changed mood. Formerly, as soon as I came in sight of the temple I was dumb, for I had to say my prayer in my heart. Now, I chattered and laughed joyously all the way to college. I did not regret that I had entered into the covenant, for belief in one God made me a new man. . . . I fancied that I understood the whole of Christianity, so inspired was I by this belief in one God."[1] He describes faith in one God as the first step in his conversion, which, elementary as it was, had an extraordinary liberating effect upon him. This testimony of an intelligent heathen Christian, one of the few who are capable of observing and describing how they were brought to Christianity, is typical of the way in which many heathen come to God.

To the heathen this one God is alive, proving His Deity by great and mighty action. The heathen deity is powerless and far away; he becomes small by the laws of perspective, and is eclipsed by the threatening demons close at hand. The Gospel message brings God near, and therefore makes Him great. His power and majesty are evidenced by the creation of the world, readily believed by the heathen to be an act of God. Every heathen assents to this..[2] Novel as the idea is, he likewise understands that God upholds and governs the world He created; that He has a living relation to it and to the men who are upon it. Since the speech on the Areopagus the message of God, the Creator and Governor of the world, has been to the heathen a Gospel removing the veil from the unknown God.

[1] K. Utschimura, pp. 17 f.

[2] There are two manifestations of God which are immediately understood—His creation and government of the world.

The gods worshipped by the heathen are powerless. The demons have power, but their powers are altogether hurtful to men and have to be opposed by magic. There is no almightiness ascribed to the supreme deity; he cannot help man in his conflict with demons; he cannot raise him from the dead; against fate the deity is powerless. Hence the message of an Almighty God who can do all things is something entirely new to the animistic heathen. But it is just that power of God which impresses them. Condescending to their ignorance, the living God often makes the heathen feel His power. Sick people come to experience the impotence of their amulets, the uselessness of their sacrifices, and then the mighty help of God. When a Niasser woman, seriously ill, who trusted in God, was healed as by a miracle, the heathen declared: "She really has a great and strong God."[1] In an epidemic of cholera in Balige (Sumatra) a heathen priest made use of his ordinary sorceries. But on the third evening he cried: "Take away all I have set up here in the village; make no further attempts to drive away the spirit of disease. This time it will not do; God is more powerful." Then he died and all his family.

A Battak teacher says that one of the reasons which often have a decisive influence in bringing the heathen to Christianity is their experience of the impotence of heathen sanctuaries and idols. He tells of a heathen, in whose family one case of death was followed by another, and the science of the priest was always powerless. The members of the family thereupon resolved to become Christians. Another case was that of Christian elders who failed to pay due reverence to a sacred tree, the residence of the spirit of an ancestor; they even insulted it before the eyes of the terrified heathen, who predicted that they would be smitten with illness. A whole month passed without any harm coming to them; then the heathen declared that they were conquered, and came to church. In Huta Djulu (Sumatra) a Christian elder cut down one of those holy trees, whereupon the heathen exclaimed: "The Christian

[1] Any number of further examples may be found in mission literature.

God is stronger, the Christian God has conquered."[1] A Niasser family that had been recently baptised was poisoned, and God blessed the remedy used in such a visible way as to prove to the heathen His power. A heathen in Nias was compelled by poverty to omit the sacrifice which had to be offered for his child's welfare immediately after its birth. But the child, against all expectations, throve splendidly. The father came to the conclusion: "This child proves to me that idolatry is needless. I have done nothing for my child and yet it lives." A Nias chief testified: "It is six years since I ceased to worship idols, and yet God has richly blessed me all those years. This has made it perfectly plain that we have no need of idols, and that it would be better if all were Christians." In a heathen region of Nias a certain Ama Dahombowo, in the absence of the missionary, had cast away his idols, and justified his conduct to the heathen thus: "It is not the missionary who cleanses our houses of idols. We ourselves do it as soon as we know the living God, for we are then convinced that we do not need them." He told them that his wife had been seriously ill, and neither priests nor sacrifices had brought her any help. But the medicine given by the missionary healed her. The same thing happened later in the case of his brother. When another brother became ill he entreated the missionary to pray to his God, and if help came, then the missionaries' God would be his God. The sick man was restored. "Then we considered, thought it well over, and came to the conclusion that God is stronger than our idols, and that He hears our prayers. Then I made a first attempt and removed the idols from my house without incurring any harm. . . . Thus quite alone, and of our free will, we have thrown away our idols, and I for one will not return to them." Young Christians and heathen experience the power of the living God, and the experience convinces them.

God, who will not be mocked, makes them sometimes

[1] Young Christians often challenge the vengeance of the spirits to prove to the heathen their impotence, or enter on proofs of power which the heathen propose to them in order to establish whose god is the stronger.

experience His power to punish, infusing thereby a wholesome fear into both heathen and Christian, and convincing them of Himself. That often took place among the Dayaks in Borneo. We have had frequent experience of it also in Sumatra. In Nias, God often visited with punishment the undecided and those who were open enemies. For example, a malevolent sorcerer in Lahagu died suddenly together with his family, a judgment of God visible to all.

We can easily understand that when the heathen hear of the Almighty God, they timidly test His power before definitely deciding for Him. God indulges them therein, for the prohibition not to tempt God was not given to those who did not know Him. If God could say to His people who had known Him out of a long experience, "Examine Me in this" (Mal. iii. 10), how much more will He indulge the heathen who would fain know how they stand with Him, and give them proofs of His unique power when they ask with a sincere desire for certainty? The Old Testament saints often tested God, and He answered them, although they might have known Him without it. The real greatness of God is shown in His condescending to men. A Dayak heathen woman had heard the missionary say that Christians asked God to protect them, and were then sure of being protected. She thought: I will put that to the proof; if that prove true, all else must be true. She set herself to pray and found herself delivered from her trouble of terrifying dreams in which she had to do with spectres. A chief's son among the Congo negroes was convinced, in his sickness, of the powerlessness of the fetich while help was given him by the missionary. To put the matter to the proof he put his idols out of the house for one night, depriving himself of their protection. When no harm resulted he took courage and rid himself of them altogether.

"We cannnot get rid of the impression that, as in the early days of the Christian Church, so now the Lord is

preparing the way by signs and wonders for the admission of His Gospel into new regions, condescending to the child-like level of childlike people."

It is in keeping with the wisdom of the divine education that the extraordinary manifestations of God's power fall into the background in proportion as the heathen Christians and the heathen come to know Him through His word and His people. They have now Moses and the prophets, and do not need to see one rising from the dead. Those who grow in the knowledge of God have an inward experience of Him which verifies the words of Jesus, "Thou wilt see greater things than these."

The hearers of the message of salvation become conscious of the living God first of all through their experience of His power, and then, if they go on to learn of Him more fully, through His self-manifestation in Jesus Christ, in whom He enters the human race. The love of God is not, as a rule, the first thing which the animistic heathen grasp in Christ, but the self-attestation of God, who becomes visible and tangible in His Son. Without in any way reflecting on the relations of the Son to the Father, they rejoice in a God who became man that He might come near to men. They come to know God in Jesus. Before Jesus is the way, He has become to them the manifestation of God, His projection of Himself into human life; in Him the unknown God comes forth from His concealment, and personal trust in Him becomes possible. Hence the first overpowering impression of Jesus which heathen and heathen Christians get is of His Divinity. The education of the disciples ended with the confession: "My Lord and my God." The growth of the heathen for the most part begins with this impression. It is, therefore, advisable to say little at first of Christ as the Son; it is better to speak of Him simply as God: God became Man, God suffered and died, etc. My own experience on this point has been confirmed by various missionaries. Jesus the self-revelation of God—that is how He appears to the eye of the susceptible heathen and becomes to him the way into Christianity. If the heathen allows this Divine

Person to gain power over him He will more and more determine the course of his inner life.

The heathen, when his will is enlisted in the inward experience, forthwith enters into a personal relation with the living, working God brought nigh to him in Jesus. The experimental proof of the Gospel's truth is found in the reality and fruitfulness of this relation wherein, of course, he is mainly receptive. In all mission fields, and especially among uncivilised peoples, we see that susceptible hearers of the message appropriate God with directness and simplicity, converse with Him in a matter-of-course way, experience Him in childlike intercourse, speak to Him, pray to Him, and receive an answer. The heathen deities are inaccessible; no one dreams of intercourse with them. What a mighty proof of God's message that it sets up an entirely new but real relation between God and man! This new personal relation to God finds expression in childlike, trustful faith and simple, confident prayer.

The faith of young heathen Christians has, as a rule, a power and freshness that puts us older Christians to shame. God has become to them a living God to whom they commit everything; they know of no limit to His power; they rejoice in their filial standing, and point it out to the heathen as an advantage which Christians enjoy. The newly converted do not doubt that God doeth wonders. Wonderful deliverances, great manifestations of grace, are to them not miracles but self-evident expressions of the might of His Godhead, not *τέρατα* but *δυνάμεις* (to the heathen they are *σημεῖα*). They have no difficulty in believing the Bible miracles. Their confidence in the power of the mighty God is boundless. Remember that every presupposition for such thoughts about God, every predisposition for a trustful demeanour towards Him, is entirely absent in animistic religions. Here, at any rate, there can be no talk about a development of existing germs. The living God is new to them; communion with Him is new; the faith that appropriates and trusts Him is new.

This faith is often touchingly shown at the deathbeds of heathen Christians; calmly they put themselves into the hands of their Saviour and quietly pass through the gates of death, never doubting that they are united with God. This is not hypocrisy: how should they on their deathbed put on an unaccustomed mask while all other heathen meet death stupidly and indifferently? It is the certainty of going to their God which makes them die calmly, often joyfully. Their faith has something of the childlike character which our Lord holds up as an example; it reflects not, speculates not, sees no difficulties, but cheerfully and joyously takes and thankfully enjoys what is offered.

Christians in Sumatra and Nias have ventured to bid the evil spirit, in the name of Jesus, go out of the possessed; they felt, as a matter of course, that the demon had left the poor man; and when he had gone they made no fuss about the matter; we only heard of it occasionally. They are perfectly sure that the strong Jesus will settle with His enemies.[1] Bravery is not among the virtues of the Battaks, but faith in their mighty God has often given the evangelists and elders in their missionary journeys an astonishing courage in great dangers. One of the greatest sorrows to an Indonesian is when his child dies, above all if he be an only son. Faith in God has given to many Christians comfort and support in such a sorrow; their childlike relation to God made them strong. So we find heathen

[1] A Battak teacher was summoned to a sick Christian woman upon whom an evil spirit was supposed to have come. She desired a sacrifice, which the teacher forbade. The woman thereupon fell into a rage and the spirit threatened to kill both her and the teacher. The teacher answered: "You cannot; you have no power over me, for I and all here present belong to Christ." The teacher and his scholars then sang a Christian hymn. While they were singing, the woman cried: "My brother, will you not give me what I ask that I may depart? I cannot endure this, I am afraid." The teacher replied: "Yes, depart." The woman then sprang up, rushed round the house, and cried: "I am going, for I am afraid." The teacher related the story in Matthew viii. 28-34, declaring that the Lord Jesus has still power over evil spirits, and prayed with those present. The woman was healed, with the result that a great number were led to come to the church.

committing all to Him even when they know little about Him.[1]

Certainty of victory is one of the expressions of their firm childlike faith. No earnest heathen Christian among the Battaks and Niassers doubts that the Gospel will conquer all his people. In Sifaoroasi (Nias) the first twenty-four candidates for baptism had very much to suffer from the hostility of heathenism, but they were certain of victory; they called themselves the "seed of the kingdom of God for Sifaoroasi, meaning that all their fellow-countrymen, who then had no desire to know anything of the new custom, would assuredly by-and-by become Christians like themselves. This belief in the world-conquering power of the Gospel makes all truly converted heathen to become eager mission workers as will be shown later. Suffering and persecution cannot disturb them in this belief. The things they have experienced have given them a glimpse of the power of God and taught them to estimate differently the sufferings of this present time.

A surprising joyousness in prayer goes hand in hand with this lively faith. The heathen who has entered into a personal relation with God must needs tell Him everything that moves him. In their heathenism they were ignorant of what prayer means; they had no conception of a prayer to God springing out of the pressure of need or of the grateful gladness of the heart. But, become Christians, they pray almost without any teaching; they speak to God in the simplest manner; they lay before Him their cares great and little. They have an instinctive sense of the need to pray in every unusual situation of life or movement of the heart. Their prayers are talks with God, often of the most touching childlikeness. Whence comes this impulse to prayer and this art of prayer if it is not prompted and sustained by a new

[1] Missionary Bassfeld (Nias) tells of a heathen in Bawalia who adhered to God's word. He was bitten by a poisonous serpent. At once he prayed: "God in heaven, Thou art eternal and almighty; lo, a serpent has bitten me, but if Thou wilt Thou canst make the bite harmless, and therefore I pray Thee help me." The pain soon ceased.

and real relation to God, the natural manifestation of which is prayer?

These two features of heathen Christian life, simple faith and inward prayer, are confirmed by the experience of nearly all mission fields. The childlike faith and believing prayers of the Battak Christians often put us to shame, especially of those who have consciously passed over from heathenism to Christianity.[1] In the second generation the relation to God becomes less immediate. It is said of the Niassers: "The young Christians of Nias put a great value on prayer. We are constantly being asked to pray with and for their sick, and they often tell of almost instantaneous answers to their childlike prayers."[2] "Moreover, it is very gratifying to find that young Christians so quickly get accustomed to pray to the living God. They turn to Him in childlike faith in every situation, representing to Him that they have now no other God, and therefore He must help, and are then certain that their prayer has been heard. In our visitation of their sick we are often asked to pray with and for the sufferers.

[1] In Huta Djulu, a mountainous region of Sumatra, Christians give numerous examples of how God answered their prayers and how many heathen were thereby brought over to the Church. A heathen whose son was sick unto death promised to become a Christian if God would answer their prayers on his behalf. Thereupon a Christian chief prayed: "Lord, Thou hast heard our covenant; do not put us to shame, have mercy on us, and heal this sick one that my comrades may see that Thou art God and hearest prayer, that they also may know Thee and love Thee and cease betaking themselves to dead idols." The boy was restored and the family passed over to Christianity.

[2] Sundermann, "Nias," 144. He tells of a prayer which a heathen offered shortly before his baptism. This man Siwahumola had been one of the most notorious robbers and head-hunters, and had many a murder on his conscience. He prayed as follows:—"O thou great God, who art gracious to us, who art our Father, we come to Thee in prayer. We thank Thee for Thy goodness to us, for the help Thou hast given us evil and wicked Niassers, who are as nothing before Thee, and who have benighted hearts. We thank Thee that Thou hast sent us the missionary to instruct us in the good doctrine. We can now be baptised and become real Christians. Help us, forgive us all our sins, and teach us to keep Thy commandments. When the devil comes to tempt us, help us to overcome him, and take us all as members of Thy household into Thy beautiful heaven" (p. 179).

The reports of the Nias Mission have much to say of the life of fervent prayer. A heathen chief was seriously ill and had lost all speech and hearing. Solago, a young Christian, visits him, "that the people of Ojo may see that our God is almighty." He prays with the sick man: "Great Almighty God, Thou knowest why we are here; make this man well and show Thy power and might to the people that they also may follow Thee." Immediately the sick man could hear and speak. Medicine was then given him by the missionary Krumm, and he became quite well, and, with sixty of his people, threw away their idols. Ama Gahonoa, the first-fruits of the West Coast, was zealous in prayer from the first moment of his conversion. His prayer was a talk with the heavenly Father. His prayers for the sick were often followed by surprising results. The following story indicates his relation to God: Called in to a case of serious illness, he prayed for the restoration of the patient, but his prayer was in vain. He prayed again, but with no success. This occasioned him serious thoughts. During the night he was troubled by the fact that his prayer on this occasion was not heard; then he dreamed that the parents of the child kept in concealment ancestor idols, and that his prayer was thereby hindered. The day had scarcely dawned when he ran to the parents and demanded of them, "Where are the idols you have hidden? out with them! They make my prayer of no effect." Terrified, the people produced the idols; after they were removed he prayed again and in a short time the child was well. At a later period, when the growing Christian community had become a living proof of the divine truth, the striking signs fell more into the background, a fact which Ama Gahonoa found to be quite usual.

Jellinghaus testifies of the Kols: "In their heathen state they were bound fast in the fear of demons; now they betook themselves to prayer in the name of Jesus, the conqueror of sin and the devil, as a weapon against all assaults of the demons." The Christian Kols are absolutely certain that the Lord Jesus hears prayer, and that all evil spirits must give way to prayer in His name, and stories

may be heard in almost every Christian village of how prayer has brought help in sickness, in serpents' bites, etc., when all medicine and all sorcery was in vain." "Their religious life is distinguished above all by a glad childlike trust, their thought and feeling turns towards God with a simplicity which proves that the childlike heart is nearest to the Gospel." Nottrott also speaks highly of the power of prayer among the Christian Kols; heathen often come to Christians and ask for their prayers. Riedel, the blessed Apostle of Minahassa, says that he is often astonished at the power of prayer displayed by the Christian Alfurus. "I believe that many a European youth would be ashamed if he were to see and hear the gift of prayer displayed by these youths recently converted from heathenism." A European who visited Ternate was deeply impressed by the prayers of the young Christians. Bellon, the missionary at Abetifi on the Gold Coast, says: "Any one taking part in our prayer-meetings would have his heart uplifted by hearing the childlike way in which the Christians pray. There is nothing artificial or sentimental about them. They really believe in the power of prayer." The Japanese, Utschimura, and his fellow-students had no sooner turned to God than they began to pray.

In every missionary record we have testimonies to the fervent prayers of the young heathen Christians. It is to them a natural, almost an involuntary manifestation of their new relation to God. They have passed from death to life, from estrangement to communion with God (*μεταβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωήν*, John v. 24; *ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν, ὅτι μεταβεβήκαμεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωήν*, 1 John iii. 14). They were dead because they were separated from God; now they have found God and live. The new life in and through God is the first great fundamental gift of the Gospel to the starving soul of the heathen. The gift is God Himself. That gift has power to dethrone all idolatry and make the heathen new religious men.

Moral obedience in the service of the true God, the obligation closely connected with this great gift, falls, as

we can understand, into the background. The gift is so overwhelmingly new and great, so obviously a gift, that its bearing upon conduct can only gradually enter their consciousness. God offers Himself to the heathen in the Gospel as a personal friend; He comes to them as the giving One. That melts the ice round the heathen heart. This is of the very essence of the Gospel, that it is a gift, the offer of Himself of a good, gracious, compassionate God. Hence life is called a gift (Rom. vi. 23); to have tasted of the heavenly gift (Heb. vi. 4) means to have found God; Paul thanks God for His unspeakable gift (2 Cor. ix. 15). According to the New Testament the Gospel is a gift of grace, δωρεά χάρισμα. The Gospel shows its power in this way among the heathen; it gives them the true, great, good God; they are born again into a new life. The intellectual and the moral consequences of the gift will follow, for it contains a number of new motives and powers which cannot but unfold themselves. But the gift of God Himself must come first, the means of giving life to those estranged from Him. The consciousness of the receiver is at first entirely occupied with the boon he has received, and only gradually awakens to the corresponding obligation. Heathen Christians, therefore, from the first days of their conversion, exhibit a marvellous degree of childlike trust and strong faith in God, while their moral conduct is startlingly out of keeping with their genuine religious life. The heathen Christian communities of the Apostolic age had a similar experience, an experience repeated to-day in every mission field with the regularity of a law of nature. This period of incipient Christian life is a kind of spring-time when we need not look for fruit. Spring also promises more than it performs; for many of its blossoms fall without ever setting into fruit. But yet it is the fairest time of the year.[1]

[1] Jellinghaus calls it the infant weakness of the Kols Christians that, notwithstanding the genuineness of their faith, they have little sense of sin ("Die Kols," p. 348). This is just the infant weakness of all young heathen Christians.

We have now to consider the question: How does this living picture of God arise in the mind of the heathen? What kind of preaching must the missionary employ to set God's might and majesty before the dulled eyes of the heathen? It will not be done by intellectual instruction; the missionary will get no audience for learned lectures about God. Life is not begotten by enlightenment; it passes from person to person, from God to man, by living contact. The sole function of preaching is to mediate a personal acquaintance with God. That is done by depicting the deeds of the living God before the eyes of the heathen. Persons are made known by their acts. Mission preaching proclaims the deeds of God; it explains nothing at first, expounds nothing; it simply narrates what God has done. The heathen thereby gets to know God. He does not ask who God is, but what He does and can do. How did the Apostles preach to the heathen? We know very little on the subject, but this much is certain, that Peter as well as Paul proclaimed to them τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ (the mighty works of God). Paul recapitulates in 1 Cor. xv. the fundamental contents of his preaching to the heathen; Christ died for our sins, was buried, was raised the third day, and appeared several times to His own. Paul always uses the word Gospel in the sense of a proclamation of the deeds of God. He does not tell his hearers who and how God is, but what He has done for them: that He created them, patiently bore with them, sent His Son to save them, that this Son died, rose again, and will return to judgment. The effect of the message on the hearts of the hearers he left to its own inherent power. Words of wisdom and enticement he expressly repudiates (1 Cor. i. 17; ii. 4). Reasoned explanations are given later, but only to the Christian community which has already got life from the God of salvation. Believers have obtained life by a recognition of the facts which constitute the Gospel, not by comprehending them or abstracting the ideas underlying them. Christian thought is subsequently built on these deeds of God. The deed stands above the thought.

The missionary of to-day can go no otherwise to work; he goes among the heathen as a herald and proclaims to them the things God has done, is doing, and will do. He waits on the result. At first he is compelled by his defective knowledge of the language and of the mental life of the people to adopt a simple method of story telling.[1] He is forced to confine himself to telling Bible stories from the Old and New Testaments, waiting perhaps impatiently for the time when he will be able to vanquish heathenism by an exposition of the deep thoughts of the Christian religion. The language of a primitive people presents fewest difficulties to the narrative form of address; a very simple man can understand a story. And, lo, the teller of Bible stories discovers that a new religious world is dawning upon the heathen through the simple narration of what God has done for men; that these stories are better fitted than any well thought-out address for making blinded idolaters acquainted with the living God; that the simple telling of what God has done in the course of human history makes His image plastic to them and Himself, no longer a bloodless idea, but an acting, thinking, feeling person. The stories of the Bible are everywhere listened to with pleasure. The heathen are keenly interested in them, and get from them a clear conception of what the new religion desires and gives. It is the Bible stories that transform the religious thought of the Animist.

We are told of the people of Nias that the Bible stories of the Old and New Testaments always made the deepest impression, and imparted a knowledge of God. Sometimes the story of Abraham, sometimes that of Jacob, reflects their own experience. Merensky says that his preaching to the

[1] Dr Adriani repels the reproach about missionaries carrying to the natives dry unintelligible dogmas. "In using the language of the country are they not compelled to limit themselves to what can be spoken in that language? Does not the fact that mission work employs the language of the country prove that it is willing to hamper itself, that it has no wish to say anything that cannot be said in the language of the people, that it does not attempt to philosophise in its own trains of thought, but confines itself to those that prevail in the speech of the country.

Basutos was essentially a proclamation of Bible history. "The flood and the story of Sodom and Gomorrah always made an extraordinary impression as examples of God's penal righteousness." It was the same with the stories of the patriarchs, of Joseph's fate, and finally the story of the Saviour. Jellinghaus had the same experience among the Kols: "The simple biblical Gospel . . . fits into the hearts of the children and adults of this primitive people as a screw fits into the nut."—"They grasped with a childlike vividness the stories of creation, the fall, Jesus' birth, His miracles, and especially His sufferings." It is said of the negroes of Suriname: "There are few on whom the picture of the crucified Christ does not make a more than passing impression, and many are deeply affected by it." Stosch is of opinion that "it is not the theology of experience in any of its modifications, but a theology of facts dominated by the idea of revelation that is capable of healing the truthless heathen world and satisfying it with truth."—"The fact that Christianity, proclaimed on a biblical foundation, reveals itself as truth and verifies itself as revelation in its preparatory motives as well as in the central fact of reconciliation by Christ, is the basis of all success in missions." Speaking about preaching to the heathen in India, Hesse says: "We do not preach this or that profound and interesting doctrine of Christianity or any such thing as theology and philosophy; India has more than enough of profound and interesting doctrines of theology and philosophy; we proclaim the great facts of the life, sufferings, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, the historical incarnate Saviour of sinners. What the Indian religions chiefly lack is facts and personalities." The foreign missionary lays the foundation by telling the history of Jesus. Bohner in West Africa had the same experience in preaching to the heathen. Dahle in one of his reports strongly urges that the first presentation of the Gospel to heathen should always take the form of Bible stories, especially the story of the life and sufferings of the Saviour. The missionaries, Ostermeyer and Spieth, who took part in the discussion that followed, were of the same opinion;

one of the special excellences of the Gospel, they declared, is that it is not doctrine but history. Their experience was that the story of the passion and of the resurrection of Christ hardly ever failed to make a deep impression on the heathen.

The Bible stories reveal God to the heathen as a God of deeds. The inference they draw is that such a God will perform works of power and love among them also. The divine revelation is made to men, however, in a succession of divine dealings, in which God makes Himself known by progressive stages that men may be gradually prepared for His greatest and final act of revelation, viz., the redemption by Jesus Christ. Accordingly we need not be surprised that the animistic heathen, on a lower stage of human development, are best able to grasp and digest the divine revelation in the deeds of God recorded in the Old Testament and reflected in the histories of men whom He led. The missionaries in Sumatra, Nias, Borneo, New Guinea, have experienced and still experience that the stories of the Old Testament exercise a great power over heathen hearts. The narratives of the creation of the world and of man, of paradise, the fall, the flood, the confusion of languages, of the patriarchs, Moses, and the giving of the law, of Israel's journey through the wilderness, the stories of Samuel, David and Solomon, are all listened to with keen interest, and are cherished. How full of life, how plastic, do these pictures of the old men of God stand out before the eyes of the heathen! Abraham, Moses, David, become popular figures among heathen and heathen Christians ; they are the best allies in the conflict with heathenism, the most convincing teachers of the true God, enabling them to see God in His intercourse with men, to see Him as it were at work. The judgments of God in the expulsion from paradise, the flood, the dispersion of the nations, in the fate of Israel, give the heathen a knowledge of God as the avenger of evil. They beget faith in a righteous retribution, and in the curse of sin. The self-righteous Animist could never be made to understand what sin, disobedience, faith, love, humility, meekness, energy, are, in any doctrinal way ; in the Old Testament pictures moral and

religious values stand before them in a language understood all the world over. Primitive man would turn away from didactic lectures, but he cannot get away from these stories. They depict God's Almightiness, His omnipresence, His wisdom, righteousness, patience, long-suffering, love, without any need of formulating concepts. Even though the Word is not in their language, the hearers understand the thing. The hearer of the Old Testament stories learns how God must be feared; he learns also how He should be loved and trusted. The inward experience of these facts must overthrow his animistic system, and produce a dim sense of man's freedom and responsibility. Thus by means of these stories there rises imperceptibly a new world of moral and religious ideas. Bible history puts into the hands of the hearers a sure standard which is used to correct all former relations. Without criticising the horrors and moral carelessness of heathen life, the missionary will implant an aversion to them by these stories. Heathen who have been moved by a Bible story will often say: "We are very bad," a confession which could not be wrung from them by any disputation. God's majesty and merciful condescension are contrasted with their own wretchedness in such a peaceful, winning way, that even hardened heathen are convinced. The religious transformation of those who do not close their hearts against the light is begun under the training influence of history, which depicts with equal impartiality God's greatness and man's sin. The story of salvation brings God into their life; their dim eye learns to see Him as His nature is progressively revealed; they timidly attempt to put His power to the proof; they begin to fear Him and to trust Him. God's power as shown in the Bible stories leads to their own experience of the mighty God, and proves that there is more there than narratives from the past life of a foreign people; life issues from these stories. They very soon endeavour to get familiar with them, and apply the new standards to their own life.[1] The Old Testament stories are therefore of

[1] A Shambala, who heard the story of Abraham, said: "That is not an old world story, but a story of the present day. I am Abraham. . . . Like

the utmost importance for the Christianising of a heathen people.[1]

Of course the missionary will not be content with preaching the Old Testament story of salvation. Its educative importance will not induce him to take the material of his preaching exclusively from the preparatory revelation, for he feels bound to offer the heathen a full salvation. That impels him to lead them into the holiest of all.[2] The New Testament reports the greatest of all God's revealing acts, His incarnation. This completes and deepens the picture of Him as the Righteous, Holy, Merciful One, which the heathen have already obtained from the Old Testament history. The absolute condescension of God to impoverished men manifested in His incarnation must speak more convincingly than all to the human heart. The question need not be decided

Abraham, I shall go to-morrow morning to my kindred, and tell them that I will no longer follow the old religion with them, and on Sunday I will come forward for baptism" (Döring, "Morgendämmerung," p. 108). The history of the fall made a lasting impression on a magician (*idem*, p. 122). The story of Noah deeply impressed many in Ovambaland ("Berichte der Rhein. Miss.," 1897, p. 342).

[1] It is characteristic of Japanese Christianity that it has neither interest in nor understanding of the preparatory revelation of the Old Testament. "The development is likely to set in here, and a Confucian Buddhistic basis be given to Christianity instead of the Old Testament. That has already been attempted by some Japanese Christians, some of them preachers." In heathen missions we cannot with impunity neglect the Old Testament revelation.

[2] The question has been constantly ventilated in mission practice and theory, whether it is advisable to train the heathen for a long time in the Old Testament before making them acquainted with the revelation of God in Jesus Christ? If the people of God needed such a long preparation before the revelation in Christ could be offered them, is it wise to place the heathen estranged from God at once in the very centre of the message of salvation? In spite of all that can be said for this, no missionary will be willing to withhold Christ from the heathen for any length of time. We shall deal with this question in the course of our discussion, and it will be shown that in more than one sense Jesus finds His way into the heathen heart. Hence Zahn says: "The messenger of God is to bring a glad message to the heathen, whether he should begin with this joyful tone depends on circumstances. But he should never forget that he has something joyful and beneficent to impart to the heathen. John the Baptist and Jesus Himself began their preaching with the call to repent, but that was not addressed to heathen, but to Jews, to a people who had been trained in religion for centuries."

what stories of the Old or New Testaments make the first and most effective impression on heathen hearts. They work together as members of one revelation. The order of rank will differ among different peoples and individuals. The picture of Jesus has often a wonderful power over heathen who have been somewhat prepared beforehand. Jesus' miracles, and especially His sufferings and death reveal to them with striking clearness the nature of God, the merciful Redeemer, and bring Him so near them that they can venture to trust Him.[1] It is less the love of God than His self-revelation, His incarnation, the clear manifestation of the Divine efforts for lost men, that makes the person of Christ attractive to these animistic heathen. The omnipotent and good God who communicates Himself to men speaks to them in Jesus more impressively than in the Old Testament.

In the Papuan schools the children listen eagerly to stories of the sufferings of Jesus. Some of them ask the missionary to speak of Jesus every morning, and pass over all else. When the missionary Helmich spoke to the Papuans about sin and forgiveness, he got little attention, but they gave more heed when he spoke of God's deeds, of Jesus' resurrection, His second coming, and the judgment of the world. They were visibly affected by the story of the raising of Lazarus, and the men cried to the women: "Do you hear that? the Lord Jesus called to him who had lain in the grave four days, and he immediately arose." They often repeat to themselves the details of the story. Van Hasselt also preached with success to the Papuans in the form of Bible stories, especially stories from the life of Jesus. A young candidate for baptism in Parparean (Sumatra) wept on hearing the story of the passion. The picture of the Crucified made a deep impression on the savage heathen Iraona Huna. The story of the rich man and Lazarus powerfully affected heathen in Batu Mamak (Sumatra), and they talked about it till far on in the night. The missionary pilgrim, speaking

[1] Zinzendorf urged his messengers: "Tell them historically (there is life in it) that Jesus Christ, very God, born of the Father in eternity, and very man born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord," etc.

of his early work among the heathen in Toba, says: "I was often surprised at the quickness with which even old men and women could pick up and accurately repeat Bible stories."

Mission records are full of examples of the effect which the message of the incarnation has upon the heathen. They do not seek any explanation of the death of Jesus: the question as to the bearing of His sufferings and death on man's salvation occupies them only at a later stage. But His person grips them, and is a revelation of God to them. It is not the human greatness and nobility of Jesus that tell upon the heathen, the moral presuppositions for that are wanting: Jesus to them is worthy of consideration, because in Him they see the great God coming down into the world of men. The effect of mission preaching on heathen hearts is an exposition of Jesus' own testimony to Himself: he that seeth Me seeth the Father. The Son of Man becomes to them the way to the unknown God the Father. That is possible, because the revelation of God in Christ satisfies their inmost need for truth.[1] The Son attests Himself to their hearts as the self-communication of God, and therefore they are justified in using the names God and Jesus in one and the same sense.

The experiences of foreign missions provide an apology for the Bible stories. Living persons only can mediate life. The story of Abraham helps to bring many heathen to God: it could not do that if it were a mere myth. For God is not a God of the dead, but of the living. A mythological Abraham, Jacob, Samuel, could not be the means of imparting a new knowledge of God to the heathen who are indifferent to religion. It is not the moral conduct of those men of God whose imperfections, not concealed by the Bible, are felt by the heathen, that makes them precious; it is their relation to God, their childlike piety. They see in

1. "That is everywhere the way to God. Even the low idolater, who sees above the deities the one living God, the Creator and Judge of the world, can only hold fast this picture in Christ; but through Christ he can enter into a personal relation with God. . . . Only through Christ do the heathen become believers in God."

them how God condescends to weak men, directs their lives, draws them to Himself, and that in such a genuinely human way as to awaken in them too the longing to have this God as their God. The biblical facts, from the creation to the outpouring of the spirit, could not produce such results, unless they were actual history of God's revelation of Himself to mankind. This actual influence of theirs attested by mission work everywhere must have some power behind it. Power Divine pulsates in these stories, for they waken life in the dead heathen world.

The missionary, who would put the story of Salvation in the background in order first to develop ideas, to instruct, convince and prove, would deprive himself of the most powerful means of evangelisation. What better thing can he tell the heathen about God than His acts? The Gospel is the same to-day in heathen missions as when the apostles preached: "A concrete, actual manifestation of God, an interposition and spontaneous expression of His living reality in the midst of humanity. . . . For all that its hearers learn are facts, purposes of God, events from the past, present and future, promises and invitations—all mighty, objective, real, without any reflection or contemplative feeling, entirely homogeneous to the living God and His energising action." The Gospel has no theory about its facts and promises, no reasoned groundwork, no intellectual adjustment of the events it proclaims. The effect it produced was directly connected with this freedom from ideas, to those who are perishing an offence, to those who are being saved a power of God." The glad message of God's revealed deeds carries in itself the power of overcoming heathenism.

The Gospel brings to the heathen the living God; the story of salvation reveals Him to them as a God of saving deeds. Along with and complementary to this revelation they receive a second gift, a mighty experience; they are set free from their old slavery. The knowledge of God which comes to them from His revealed acts delivers them from bondage. The insurmountable wall that rises up between the heathen

and God is not sin, as among ourselves (not in the first place at any rate); it is the kingdom of darkness in which they are bound. That bondage is shown in the fear that surrounds them, fear of souls, fear of spirits, fear of human enemies and magicians; in an ignominious dependence upon fate. The Gospel comes to unloose the ignoble bonds. It stands forth before their eyes a delivering power, a redemption.

That meets a need set deeply in the heathen heart. Heathenism is sorely pained by the captivity whose fruits are fear and misery. But what frees the demon worshipper must be a power, for it is a power that binds him. Deliverance can only come through some mighty deliverer, the living God. The heathen is freed from his slavish condition when he believes the message about the one Almighty Living God; and he is led to that faith by hearing of the great deeds which reveal Him clearly. He enters into a relation of childlike confidence in the Almighty which sets him free from the power that has hitherto bound him. This freedom he feels in the fact that the fear which has hitherto darkened his life has vanished. The separation from God which exposed him to fear is ended; the way back to God is found; fear then ceases. For the man who has God fears nothing in earth or hell.[1] The positive side of the gift is communion with the living God, its negative complement deliverance from fear and from the dominion of demons. The heathen who have found God have nothing more to do with their jailer; God, their mighty friend, has made them free from the *μάταιοι* (Acts xiv. 15), and the Pauline *οὔτε ἄγγελοι οὔτε ἀρχαί* (Rom. viii. 38), becomes their triumph-song.

Any one who knows the dark power of animistic heathenism will understand that this mighty influence which the Gospel exerts cannot fail to make it attractive to the heathen,

[1] To put it in medical language; fear is the symptom of the disease, *i.e.* estrangement from God. The heathen adapt with efforts of despair a symptomatic treatment (in defending themselves against the dreaded power). Christ attacks the evil at the root (in restoring communion with God). He helps and heals; He is the Saviour.

and most precious to the heathen Christians. Those who feel themselves possessed of this enfranchising gift conceive of the Gospel too much from this side. They see Jesus certainly as the self-revelation of God, but they see Him chiefly and most clearly as the conqueror of demons and of the devil. The heathen understand through their own experience that Jesus has come to destroy the works of the devil far better than many Christians to whom the devil is only a product of oriental fancy, a dream which can no longer fit into refined modern thought. Even those among us who believe in his existence have reduced him to "the tempter"; to the heathen he is a master girdled with power, from whose despotism Jesus redeems them. In their old days of demon-worship, the sense of sin sank into the background, because of the conscious misery of their bondage to the devil. They lay hold then of Jesus Christ not so much as a Saviour from the power of sin, as a deliverer from the powers of darkness. The Gospel truth which they first grasp is that Jesus has power over the demons, and that He has come to make sons of God of the slaves of sin and the devil.

Looking back upon their heathen condition, they do not think of it as guilt, but as a fate from which God's power has wrested them. This throws light on a fact often observed among heathen Christians, that they are apt to view the sins of which they are conscious more as a fate than as personal guilt. It is difficult to awaken the sense of personal responsibility in men whose wills were subject to the fascinating power of Satan's government. They believe that they were acting under an irresistible constraint. Jesus has delivered them from Satan; He will also free them from sin. The consequence of this mode of thought is that many heathen Christians, while recognising sin to be a power opposed to God, are in danger of underestimating it as personal guilt towards God. The sense of sin as personal guilt will only come with the fuller development of conscience, which results from the intercourse with God which has now begun.

In welcoming Jesus as the deliverer from the bondage of demons and of fear, the heathen have not got the whole Christ; they have, however, that in Him which is the condition for further gifts, viz., a Redeemer who opens the doors of their prison. He is for them the mighty Hero, the breaker of their bonds, the Saviour who delivers them from the power of darkness and translates them into the kingdom of light, their Lord to whom they now belong. From the depths of their soul comes the confession: My Lord who has redeemed me, a man lost and condemned, from all sin, from death, and from the power of the devil. The results which Christianity produces among the heathen prove that it is a religion of redemption. It is understood and it is welcomed as such. Zacharias in his prophecy, among other gifts for the deliverance of the true Israel, reckons ἀφόβως ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ῥυσθέντας λατρεύειν αὐτῷ (Luke i. 74). It is no small thing that Jesus does in delivering them from the hand of the enemy; that is as much a part of His redeeming work as His propitiation.[1] Do not call this acquisition of heathen Christians a lower stage of Christianity. For Jesus came into the world to preach deliverance to them that were bound. Their deliverance from the iron yoke, whose oppression and pain we cannot fully imagine, is an astounding event, the greatest in the heathen's life. For them it is as primary as was the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage, the great fact on which the faith of the Old Testament people of God continually reposed, the foundation of all the rest of the acts of God. Jesus appears to the heathen in overwhelming majesty and glory as deliverer.

We may put it thus: The Gospel is acceptable to the

[1] Paul says, in Col. ii. 15, "God has quickened us by nailing to His cross the handwriting that was against us. There, on the cross, Christ has made an open show of τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, by spoiling them and triumphing over them. Christ has spoiled the demonic powers by His death, *i.e.* divested them of their former power, their authority, the fear with which men clothe them; He has held them up, naked and bare of all power. They now stand in their nothingness in the pillory as those who have no power, and are mocked as those conquered. Their former power is changed into impotence; they are unmasked as deceivers of men who are ridiculed."

heathen as a kingdom of God; this kingdom is conceived very realistically as a mighty kingdom, over which Jesus rules, whose subjects are proof against demons and evil powers, because they are under God's protection.[1] They know the kingdom of darkness from their own experience. Jesus has conquered this kingdom; He delivers all who are weary of Satan's government; He becomes their strong protector and king. This conception strikes the Animist the more readily that he can only think of kingdom or state in a religious fashion. The heathen state is the family extended, and, like the family, is based on religion; hence they conceive of a new religion as a new kingdom. The kingdom of God reminds them of their idea of state in which religion and state are closely united. That kingdom, in bringing a new custom, binds men to a new line of conduct, and represents a new power. The mere churchgoers, who do not even attend the instruction for baptism, yet put themselves under the protection of Jesus; they feel with a certain pride that they are subjects of Christ's kingdom, and being therein are secure. There is something attractive to the heathen in becoming a citizen of this mighty kingdom. For it means to him the kingdom of freedom. Jesus is to the young Christian the victorious founder of this kingdom, its law-giver, and its king. Well for him who has become its subject.

The words, "deliverance from the house of bondage," sound sweet in the ears of the heathen. When the evangelist promises the polytheist deliverance from fear and from the hard service of spirits who are never satisfied; when he invites the weary and heavy laden to accept refreshment and rest, he may count on his friendly and alluring words finding an echo in their hearts. The history of Ama Gahonoa (Fetero), on the west coast of Nias, is a typical example of the Gospel's

[1] "The idea of a kingdom of God, a kingdom with one God and king, the idea that this God is God of the whole world and of all peoples, that His kingdom is universal, that all are called to it to be saved from the wrath to come, and to form one family of God on earth and in heaven; that is the universality of Christianity, of the kingdom of God which must be the fundamental content of missionary preaching."

influence on savage heathen hearts. It first laid hold of him as a message of deliverance and of peace. That region was continuously infested with head-hunters, and the poor people lived in terror by day and by night. Lett, the missionary, told them of Jesus who reconciles men with God, and brings a new earth where there will be no head-hunters to disturb their peace, and where there will be no more sickness, sin, nor death. Deeply moved, Ama Gahonoa caught Lett by both hands, and cried, "Lead me thither." The key which opened the heart of this heathen was the message of redemption interpreted by his soul yearning after outward peace. The Gospel grew afterwards for him into deliverance from the devil and from the bonds of heathen religion. Ama Gahonoa soon threw away his idols; he entered into a living relation with God, began a new life of sincere prayer, and in every respect became a new man. His history is repeated in many of the heathen of the Indian Archipelago. The starting-point of the change is a longing for deliverance and redemption more or less outwardly conceived, but this longing is deepened in the case of those who have come to see the ruinous power of spirit worship.

"As the whole power of heathenism among the Kols lies in their fear of the Bongas, or evil spirits, conversion to Christianity must begin and has begun here." Rottrott declares that many of them, weary of the hard service of the evil spirits and groaning under their dominion, are driven by fear to Jesus the Deliverer. "They turn to Him because He is stronger than the Bongas." He gives the same testimony concerning the Uraos, Mundaris, Larkas, Santals, etc. Fear of spirits, or, as they say afterwards, of the devil, a longing to be redeemed from them, drives them into the arms of Christianity. Richter says of the Aborigines of India: "The great and good Father in heaven who sent His Only Begotten Son into the world as Saviour, and protects His adherents from the malice and power of spirits and demons, is to these people (the Mundas, Uraons, Santals, Karens, Khassi, Nagas) a real gospel of salvation." The Samoans declared to Williams that they wished to become Christians

to be freed from the malevolence of their idols. It is said of Korea, where there is a wonderful movement going on, that the mission has freed the souls of the people from the old terrifying fear of demons, for which the Koreans are very grateful.

Miescher reports the saying of a black man on the Gold Coast: "The idols and fetiches we worship are the death of us. When one of us is at the point of death, and his relations go to the fetich priest to inquire the cause, he tells them: The patient must die because he has offended the fetich. Thus we see that we are worshipping not gods of life but of death. . . . It is clear that we are living in the land of death. Therefore, we pray for mission-stations to be planted among us." Hoch, the missionary, says of the worshippers of spirits in India: "If we ask these people what causes them to come over to Christianity, their standing answer is that they could not remain in heathenism because of the ever-increasing torments of the Bhuten, while they saw that Christians were not afflicted by them, and were not afraid of them. It is, therefore, the longing to be delivered from the dominion and torment of evil spirits, from their bondage and the fear in which as worshippers of Bhuten they were held captive, that moves them to accept the Gospel." . . . "They accept Jesus Christ not as a Saviour who redeems them from the curse and power of sin, so much as one who delivers them from the sway of the powers of darkness. The truth of the Gospel which they first lay hold of is that Jesus has power over the demons, and that He has come to make the servants of sin and the devil sons of God." Rösler bears similar testimony regarding the Shambala: "We missionaries all experience that our heathen hearers are never more attentive than when we tell them there is a deliverance from fear." "The missionary does that by declaring that through Jesus we may become children of God. The more the Shambala yielded themselves to this Jesus, the more their fear vanished. They laid aside their former means of protection and began to trust God." Trittelvitz vouches for the same thing: the desire to be delivered from fear and

from evil spirits is one of the main motives that leads the Shambala to Christianity. "Jesus is mightier than the smallpox magician, who would like to afflict us with smallpox by his magic," said a youth. Jesus is mightier than the ancestor spirits. Anyone who has reached that conviction readily comes to the Saviour, for "God's people have no fear."

Wherever the knowledge of Jesus has gained a footing the demon's power is gone. Jesus turns out to be victor. That is noted even by the heathen, for the power of evil spirits disappears even beyond the narrow circle of the Christian communities, a fact which gives the heathen a dim sense of God's power. It is said of the early Church that during the Diocletian persecution, it was a complaint of the augurs that no omens could be got in presence of Christians. However frequently the sacrifice was repeated before the Emperor, it was of no avail. The haruspex of the day declared to the Emperor that the Christians obstructed the oracles and signs given by the demons. The heathen declared that the presence of Christians often made the sacrifice impossible. Christians rejoiced, but suffered persecution because of it. The heathen Christians of modern missions have the same experience. The heathen of Halmahera forbade the Christians to take part in their festivals, for they believed that the presence of a Christian drove away the spirits. When Fries, the missionary in Nias, desired to witness a heathen festival, the priests politely asked him and his wife to leave the place; the spirits of their ancestors could not come to them while "the preacher of God" was looking on. Battak magicians have openly declared that since "God's Word" came to the country their magic has failed, and that not only with reference to Christians. Where they still ply their trade they become more and more noted as conscious deceivers. Confessedly, they have no power over Christians; these no longer fear the once all-powerful magician unless they voluntarily return to their bondage by falling back into heathenism. A spirit, who took possession of a man, being

asked by a Dayak heathen why they did not torment Christians also, answered, "We cannot see them." A baptised Battak priest told me that he had command of many arts which he could only explain as the inspiration of devilish powers; but that all supernatural art ceased as soon as the message about Jesus was made known. A converted magician likewise told Jellinghaus that he had often seen things that were true, and often things that were false, but like all Christian Kols he believed that magic put one in real connection with Mahadeo (the devil god of the Hindus) and with the Bongas, and that it was the work of supernatural powers. Like all Christians he was firmly convinced the evil spirits can do no harm to those who call upon the name of Jesus; they retreat before the Christian's prayer. Another magician also declared that since Christianity entered the land the Bongas had lost their power. Jellinghaus remarks on this: "I was interested to hear from the missionary, Hugo Hahn, that the Africans (Herero) also said that since the advent of Christianity evil spirits had lost their power." Rottrott bears the same testimony regarding the Kols: "It is marvellous how little confidence the heathen, in a Christian neighbourhood, put in their ceremonies and prayers. The consciousness that Isu Massih is far mightier than all the Bongas, who are forced to give way to Him, soon spreads in any district where a chapel, or a Christian house, is found. Hence, the heathen like to build in proximity to Christians in the hope of obtaining the protection of Christianity." A celebrated magician was challenged by a fanatic heathen to bewitch a Christian; he declared that he had no power over him, for he prayed to Jesus.[1] It is often said that magicians admit that they have no power over the missionaries, but the heathen attach small importance to that, as they regard the missionaries as servants of other and mightier gods beyond the influence of the national magic, and often as themselves mighty and

[1] A Niasser magician put the matter thus: "If a disease is from the devil, the patient may be cured by idolatry, but if it is from God, I can give no help."

invulnerable magic men. Heathen, once demon possessed, who in their unbelieving days were instruments of the demons without any will of their own, when they pass over to Christianity are freed from their tormentors so long as they hold to "God's word." An idol-priest, who had an evil spirit, was believed by the heathen to have been completely cured by his conversion to Christianity. While the Mpepo sickness, which is regarded by the Shambala as possession by a demon, is a daily occurrence among the heathen Shambala, it has completely ceased among the Christians.

The young heathen Christians are conscious of a sense of freedom, a feeling of deliverance whose vividness and strength we cannot imagine. The deliverance is not a mere belief; it is an experience. To the Christian it is as much a reality as the demon world, whose dread has poisoned their whole life and thought, is to the heathen. It brings a great gladness. A pure, genuine joy runs through all the utterances of newly converted heathen Christians. Their consciences are cleansed by communion with God; and they are free from fear. These heathen Christians experience, in all its pristine freshness, "the great joy which is to be to all people." But the joy and freedom of being no longer under the fear of demons can be felt only by a heathen once involved in that fear. That is the repeated testimony of the Kols Christians, among whom the bondage to spirits had a specially dreadful development. A newly baptised Christian being asked why he so long hesitated to become a Christian, answered: "I was fettered by idolatry, and did not know that the heart is made so glad by Christianity." The earnest heathen Christian has a sense of security against the devil, such as we see in the hymns of Luther. Riedel, the missionary in Minahassa, was accustomed to ask those whom he baptised what their feelings were during baptism; most of their answers sounded the note of joy, that they who were formerly slaves of sin and of the devil who bound them with cords, were now redeemed and free, for which they

heartily thanked their Redeemer. The Niassers also express a lively joy at being delivered from the fear and tyranny of demons.[1]

A converted Dayak testified that the longing to get rid of evil spirits will easily lead the people of Katingan to Christianity. Another told how one of his relatives had been severely tormented by evil spirits, but had been freed from them after her baptism. A Dayak just baptised admitted to Feige, the missionary, that formerly he was much harassed by fear, and was very glad to have been delivered from it. Feige remarks: "This is a common experience, which helps to bring the people in. Once they believe that Christ can deliver men from fear they are soon won." Even the Mentawey Islanders, who are still unre-

[1] The joy of the candidates for baptism in Lolowa is touchingly expressed in a hymn sung by a young catechumen, when that province received the missionary, Krumm, and cast away its idols. He sang :—

"It is as if the sun had risen upon our mountains,
Because the Tua (missionary) has come to us.
We are in the light because he has declared to us the Word of God.
Lowalangi (God) has come to us.
The Lord has come to us, to us people of Lolowau,
To us the Iraono Huna, the multitude.
The glad message has reached us, the message which satisfies and quiets the heart.
Therefore are we gathered together. We are all present,
The aged have come, the young have come,
We are here assembled, we are now all present.
We whirl round and beat the ground,
Because the glad message comes to us, because it has reached our land.
It rushes over our mountains, and sweeps through our valleys,
Because the Tua is among us, the bringer of a new language,
The bringer of a new word.
Therefore our heart is full, our heart is big . . . .
Why came the message from the region of Lahomi?
Because the Son of God has come to them,
Because the Saviour, our Redeemer, is among them.
He has come to men on earth,
That sinners who were tormented by the devil, and led astray by evil, might obtain eternal life.
If we repent and forsake our sins,
We shall find the way of life."

(Sundermann, "Nias," p. 174 f.).

sponsive, feel their bondage. A woman said: "We are hopelessly in debt to the evil spirits."

On the Island Sangir, a dying Christian woman, who had formerly been a priestess, confessed: "Before I was baptised I felt like a heavy-laden boat, up to the gunwale in water, and in danger of sinking; now I am delivered from the heavy burden which I felt oppressing me." Many weak Christians in Halmahera were afraid of falling back into heathenism, lest they should again be haunted by the spirits. A baptised Papuan extolled Christianity to his mother thus: "You would have no more fear of evil spirits and magicians when you are in the garden; God would watch over you."

When the people are brought out from their prison, life blooms for them on every side. They are no longer under the crippling pressure of fate. They no longer need to give up their cattle for sacrifices and festivals; they are no longer compelled to involve themselves in debt to meet the demands of the priest; they are no longer afraid of the magician and his magic. Peace and prosperity spread over the land; the observance of days and the innumerable prohibitions of Animism no longer interfere with labour; as soon as the fear of demons is removed men have a freer relation to their fellow-men. Without this innermost deliverance civilisation would bring little joy to heathen people. The Kols Christians are a striking example of the way in which a people is elevated by the sense of freedom which redemption brings. Formerly they submitted with dull resignation to demons, and to their Hindu oppressors. But when breathed upon by the quickening, uplifting and emancipating spirit of Christianity the fear of demons and the craven subjection to their oppressors fled away. "The national effort to get rid of the Hindus and their oppression went hand in hand with their emancipation from demon worship."

It is their experience of the living God which convinces the heathen of the impotence of demons. The breach with demon worship may have been in progress, but it takes place at once on their finding God. A radical conversion is

effected, a forsaking of what was formerly venerated, and a submissive turning to God. When a Niasser desires to become a Christian he throws his numerous ancestor idols out of the house, effecting thereby a radical breach with the past. Lett, the missionary, called on all those who had experienced in prayer that God was the only God to cast away their ancestor idols, and they were at once ready to do so. On this occasion, Ama Gahonoa said: "If any one had formerly offered me the weight of these idols in gold I would not have given them up. I would rather have had my throat cut than have separated from them. But now we have heard from the Gospel that God, in Christ Jesus, is willing to be our Father, and have experienced that He hears our prayers; therefore, away with this idolatry." The same thing was repeated everywhere on Nias: whoever professed the new doctrine brought his idols to the missionary, who burned or buried them. Sometimes the separation from ancestor images took place without the appeal of the missionary, and without his knowledge. Many of those who still kept their idols jeered at their helplessness. On an occasion of that kind, Lett says: "I felt then as never before the struggle that must go on in a heathen heart in breaking with what has been sacred to it since childhood." In Bawalia (Nias), a chief cast away his idols, saying: "I do not believe that the idols can save us; their day is done. Therefore, I put them out of my house, and give myself to the living and gracious God in good as well as in evil days."

The Battak who desires to become a Christian casts away his idols and sacred vessels, and breaks off intercourse with them. He often does this by preparing a feast for them, as before and after completing the sacrifice, announcing his resolution and bidding them farewell.[1] He then betakes himself to the protection and service of the Christian God,

[1] A heathen chief who wished to become a Christian gave a solemn farewell feast to his ancestors. After having shown them all due honour he called to them: "Accept this offering, but it is the last. I am a Christian; farewell."

and all intercourse with spirits ceases. The renunciation of his former masters is carried out by the heathen definitely and in a single act. Sacred objects to which their superstition attributed secret powers were handed over by the heathen on Ceram to the missionary who burned them with their consent. Poor as the heathen of Halmahera were on the moral side, they had completely broken with heathen usages. The same thing is reported of the Alfurus of Minahassa; idolatry was put away on their passing over to Christianity; what had formerly been venerated was freely given up.

When the Papuans, after twenty years' resistance, turned to the Gospel, their first act was to give up the secret cult and hand over the sacred magic vessels used in it. "It was a memorable hour to the Bongu people when the men came with their instruments, blew them for the last time, then broke them in pieces and cast them into the fire. The women who had been summoned by the men to be present trembled all over with fear. . . . The people themselves have cleared away the secret cult, that firm bulwark." Recently a movement towards Christianity was started in Dutch New Guinea. Wherever missionaries or native helpers came the Papuans freely threw away their amulets and ancestor images. A young man brought his ancestor images and said: "Let all hear and see that these are deceivers, who have deceived us and made us deceivers." The Papuans in so doing consciously broke with their heathen past. Van Baarda, the missionary at Tobello (Halmahera), reports a movement among the Alfurus, and says of those who have come over: "The men who burned their idols have been converted, not from their sins, for they do not know what sin means, but to the living God." He thinks those who thus break with heathenism worthy of being baptised.[1]

[1] Coolsma attacks Van Baarda on this point: "Can one be converted to the living God without being converted from his sins?" Yes. A heathen can, for the first thing in his case is to turn away from the false gods and turn to the living God. In this first experience the sense of sin which is little developed recedes into the background behind the great gift of deliverance. Conversion is not the same thing among the heathen as it is among Christians.

The line which separates the Christian from the heathen is clearly marked here; he is no longer a sipelebegu, a "sacrificer to spirits." Such a conversion should not be reckoned of little value, although other great defects adhere to the converts. The man who has renounced the service of idols is no longer a heathen, he has become a follower of the true God. That cuts deeper into life, and is a more vigorous transformation than the conversions we usually see in Christendom. Henceforth the catechumen will have nothing to do with the altars of the idols. Such heathen have broken with idolatry openly: they submit to instruction in Christian doctrine; they bind themselves to a Christian walk and are baptised. At the same time, however, their spiritual life is weak, their knowledge defective; they may remain on this level their whole lifetime. Yet something has taken place in them which clearly marks them off from the heathen, if only they remain disciples of Jesus. [1]

"Ye turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for His Son from heaven whom He raised from the dead, even Jesus who delivered us from the wrath to come" (1 Thess. i. 9). Does not this passage teach that the point of first importance in heathen conversions is their turning from idols to the living God and their believing apprehension of Jesus as Deliverer? That makes a break in principle with the old life, with the root evil of heathenism. Their knowledge of the Gospel may be still imperfect, may even be confined to "the first principles of the Word of God" (Heb. v. 12); they may lack above all a thorough knowledge of sin and that conversion of the heart which is based on a deeper experience of salvation. But the fact that they no longer have any desire to serve idols or Satan, but the living God who offers them grace and forgiveness of sin in Christ,

[1] Irle testifies of the Christian Herero: "The ancestor cult and its institutions, ancestor worship, sorcery, superstition, fear of spirits, have vanished, and the lost god-consciousness, together with the knowledge of the one true God, has become the common good of the whole people. The fear of the dead and of the vengeance of spirits has given place to the fear of the true God." This much your missionary must testify of them, though, at the same time, he is compelled to complain of their defective conduct.

shows that they have experienced a true conversion and that of a primary kind. The living germ of a new life has been planted, the healthy development of which may in due time lead them into the deeper experiences of the perfect Christian. But what a change in the divine judgment has taken place for these converts, despite their elementary standpoint, is seen in Col. i. 13, where the Apostle calls on the heathen Christians to give thanks to the Father who hath delivered them from the power of darkness and hath translated them into the kingdom of His Dear Son. These words seem to me to be applied to the most elementary stage of discipleship. They show us what God had in view in the words, viz., an act of deliverance of souls who were bound by the powers of darkness. They have been snatched from the power of heathenism, which was driving them ever deeper into sin and ruin, and have been translated into Christ's kingdom, that, as His wards, they might come under the influence of the powers of His spirit and life.

Two powers prevent communion with God; one of them is external to man, the demons and their prince, who have thrust themselves between the heathen and God and hold them fast in iron bonds. The other is sin, the devilish in man which makes communion with God impossible. In heathenism both are at work for man's ruin. Now God has conquered the powers of darkness in a heathen heart, and brought that heart into connection with Himself; but sin has not yet left the field. As long as the prince of this world holds them captive the heathen have no consciousness of sin; and even after they are delivered from that sway the consciousness of sin is only gradually awakened, and then other powers of the Gospel are deployed against this foe. It then slowly dawns on them that there is at work in them a second power opposed to God which may endanger this new-won relation to God, His first great gift. When the negro slaves of North America were suddenly set free, the feeling of freedom prevailed over every other; no doubt or care regarding the future troubled them. So is it with the heathen Christian. He is conscious of being delivered by

God, and is happy in that consciousness. All else falls into the background.

Many a heathen gets over the first hindrance; he becomes free from the slavery of idolatry, but is held fast by the second. He has no conception of the ruinous power of sin. Such heathen Christians, and there are many of them, remain of a lower grade; often they go downwards; nay, many lose their new-won relation to God and their freedom along with it, for death is the certain end of every organism that does not go on developing. It is one thing to be laid hold of by the glory of the Gospel and driven by the longing for redemption to burst through the limits of heathenism and attach oneself to Christianity; it is a different thing to lead a life of faith and obedience under the discipline of God's spirit. It is easier for the heathen to be a Christian in the religious than in the moral sense of the word; or, to put it otherwise, it is easier for him to appropriate the truth of the Gospel and make use of it than to obey its moral demands. For the appropriation of the Gospel that brings deliverance is an overpowering, and at the same time a delightful, experience, but its moral outworking is a continuous task that strains all a man's energies.

The heathen Christians also regard the turning from idolatry as the most important step, for they look upon a Christian who again takes part in the heathen cultus as one who has fallen. The Battak Christians, elders and catechists, beseech us missionaries to be indulgent towards the moral lapses of church members, and would have even serious transgressions forgiven; but if a Christian should again sacrifice to ancestors, or have anything to do with magic, no earnest Christian will speak in his favour; he is regarded as one who has fallen back into heathenism, and therefore as lost.[1] The fallen,

[1] Christian chiefs of Si Gompulon (Sumatra) protested against admitting to the Church a Christian who had again acted as a spirit medium. They insisted on his being treated as a heathen and passing through the instruction for baptism again. When some Christians in Gunung Sitoli (Nias) kept back images of ancestors after all others had cleansed their houses, the Church insisted that those should be excommunicated. Merensky says: "Every custom which could in any way be regarded as superstitious was

some cynically, some with tears, admit that they have fallen away to the devil and been given up to eternal destruction. They are perfectly conscious of their relapse into misery. In the early mission Church also the only sin that was regarded as definitely separating one from Jesus was the return to idolatry.[1] The young Christians know that that is the lowest depth to which a heathen Christian can fall, for the turning away from false gods is the foundation of his Christian standing on which alone can all else be built. Communion with the living God is destroyed by a return to the heathen cult. That is the very thing enjoined by Paul on the heathen Christians of Corinth (1 Cor. x. 21 ; 2 Cor. vi. 14 f.).

It is no small thing for a heathen to forsake the religion he inherited from his fathers, to refuse worship to the spirits he had dreaded, to shake himself free from the all-powerful fear; it is a mighty break with the past which has no equivalent in our quiet Christian life.[2] The way may be prepared for it in diverse manners; in certain circumstances it may be lightened somewhat; but it is and remains, especially in the case of first candidates for baptism, a great and most significant act which justifies the reception of the courageous actor into the Christian community by baptism. He has experienced the first of God's great deeds, deliverance from the sway of darkness. He has experienced the power and tender mercy of the Saviour.[3] If he is now more

sternly discarded. The people had no tolerance for these things." A magician who wished to visit the station was not allowed, for the Christians said : " Such a magician is all medicine, his hair, his saliva ; he might carry on his devilish arts in the night, and we do not wish our children even to see such men."

[1] *Cf.* Harnack. The duty of keeping oneself free from all defilement with polytheism was regarded as the first Christian duty which took precedence of every other (p. 292). In the beginning it was believed that this sin could never be forgiven.

[2] This apparently outward breach (among the Herero) is not sufficiently valued. Such a breach must have more than mere outward causes. It is mostly inward distress and the hope of being delivered from it which drives them to take this step. It is a deep though unconscious feeling that he is lost in his heathenism, and therefore he seeks deliverance in God's Word.

[3] A young Ovambo, having been called by his old heathen name, said, by

fully instructed regarding God and His saving deeds, as well as regarding his own duty, he should be baptised. It no doubt may and often is the case that collateral motives have a say in the conversion, that Christianity is misunderstood as deliverance from misery, poverty and unrest, that the new religion is expected to yield help in outward distress. But if these mixed wishes lead to deliverance from the bondage of demons, and if those needing help are brought by instruction or deeper experience to renounce Satan's service, then this bypath has led them to the goal. And though, as is inevitable in successful mission fields, many heathen seek to become Christians because it has now become the custom, yet even they are weary of idolatry, and would fain turn their backs on their tormentors. In passing over to Christianity, now an easy matter, they become free from the sway of demons. The important point then is whether they are willing to be carried further. And thousands go on to find much more in Christ than they sought, a thing not unknown in Christendom.[1]

The message of the living God who created the world and governs it, who has entered into humanity and freed it from the fear and dominion of evil spirits, produces a unique effect among the susceptible heathen. We must remember how little the heathen knew about God when they broke with heathenism, and how little they still know; they only know some of His doings recorded in sacred history. But these bring Him so near to them that they trust Him to free

way of distinguishing the present from the past: "Haimbodi died in baptism and Enoch arose."

[1] Augustine judges kindly many pretended motives. "Try to waken in him a delight in the purpose to be what at first he only wished to seem. He shall obtain the true will which formerly, through his own guilt or through ignorance, he had not." Cyrill of Jerusalem says: "You may possibly come under another pretext. For it is possible that a man desires to ask a woman, and that he comes on that account. A slave often desires to please his master, and a friend his friend. I grip the bait of the hook and take thee who art come with a bad intention but in good hope of being made partaker of salvation. Perhaps you did not know what net would receive you. . . . Jesus captures you with the hook, not to kill you, but to make you alive after you are slain."

them from their tyrants. This limited intelligence, united with their experience of the personal God, has sufficient power to make them break with the whole heathen cult. The fear of spirits disappears, and that is something enormously great. The mother in childbed no longer fears the destructive envy of the spirits; the ghosts that once swarmed around at deaths and burials are no longer heeded. Sacred utensils are broken in pieces and images of ancestors burned. The candidates for baptism go with axes into the spirit grove, and cut down the tree which was held to be sacred and inviolable as the abode of some primeval ancestor; they even jeer at his helplessness. Young Christians do not hope to become free gradually; they are free. The Son has made them free indeed.

Deliverance from fear is one of the great gifts of the Gospel. The fear of death (Heb. ii. 15) makes all who are far from Christ slaves as long as life lasts. God's messages to men, therefore, frequently begin with the encouragement, fear not. Paul says (Rom. viii. 15), Ye have not received the spirit of bondage, πάλιν εἰς φόβον; that is, you wait in fear so long as you are in a state of bondage. It is said of the ungodly, in Ps. liii. 5, they are afraid when there is nothing to fear. The ungodly are terrified by fear on every side (Job xviii. 11). But with the Lord is plenteous redemption from all kinds of fear. In departing from God man has been given up to fear; reunited with God he is delivered from fear; he becomes joyous and courageous. For if God be for us, who can be against us?

Jesus the Revealer of the God of saving deeds and Jesus the Deliverer—that is the "good message" to the heathen. The Gospel presents a twofold gift which animistic heathenism can appreciate, viz., communion with the living God and deliverance from idolatry.

But that does not exhaust the Gospel's power. It now offers to those, who in their deliverance have experienced God's power, the most glorious gift in its cornucopia, the love of God in Jesus Christ. That fills up the deepest defect of

heathenism, a defect hardly dreamt of but now called into consciousness by the proffered gift. Animistic heathenism is, in its very nature, unreserved selfishness; the motto of its religious exercises is a loveless struggle for existence.[1] It need not, therefore, surprise us that the Gospel of God's love offered to hearts still under the sway of heathenism is seldom esteemed a gift at all; the ear of the heathen is not attuned to its fine melody.[2] The gift becomes desirable only when the latent need of God's love rises into the consciousness. For that a longer preparatory work is needed.[3]

This begins with the unselfish compassionate love of the messenger of the Gospel, in whom the heathen sees for the first time a man who seeks not his own. It then happens that the living God attests Himself powerfully to their hearts, and the enslaved are set free by God's grace. The

[1] See pp. 122-125.

[2] Helmich, the missionary, writes that it is difficult to make the Papuans understand the love of God in Christ. "If you tell a Papuan: Jesus died for you on the cross . . . he will make a face as if he would say, Then Jesus was a very stupid man." "I began preaching about the cross of Christ, and they cried, Away with that. Such presumption to tell us the foolery of a crucified Saviour." Döring tells us that the Shambala answered to a sermon on the love of God: "You say God is love; how does that agree with His sending of the locusts? why does God kill men by lightning?" Richter tells us that the Congo negroes had a similar reply: "If God loves us, why does He cause us to be sick and die?" They would not admit that God was good and they were evil. "Why did God create injurious insects?" "Why does not God destroy the devil if He loves us?" The latter question is often put to missionaries. A certain missionary, H., was bitterly disappointed at finding that the message of God's love does not at once gain the heart. Before he went to Java he was full of enthusiasm, and said he would everywhere tell the people the parable of the lost son, and then all who heard of such love must arise and go to the Father. Accordingly he preached the love of God with great fervour, but was sorely disappointed, for the Javanese gave no heed to his message. His disappointment soured him and made him doubtful of missions and of the truth of the Divine promises (Kruyt, "Inlander," p. 83).

[3] The heathen Battak finds it very natural to say "God is good." It is constantly said, "God is gracious." God is represented as an old weak grandfather, who always excuses the faults of his grandchildren. When they are told of God's love they think: We knew that long ago. They have no idea of the tremendous difference between the love of God and that weak *laisser faire laisser aller* of their own god.

truth of the Gospel and its redeeming power masters them and they renounce heathenism. Already they know God on one side; when they gain a personal relation to Him it cannot but be that the love of God, the most inward glory of His being, should reveal itself to the susceptible, as well as His power. The unselfish love of God's deputy enables him to be interpreter of the divine love, and he will not fail to urge and entice his hearers to look as soon as possible into the heart of the evangelic offer of grace. The preaching of God's love for lost and sinful men is like a seed corn, very soon planted in the heart, but needing a long period of warmth and rain to spring up. It will germinate, but the sower must have patience. The seed of the noblest trees lies longest in the earth.

One of our Battak teachers expresses himself as follows about the effect of the message of God's love: "When preachers of the good message go to a heathen land, they at first declare that which can be most easily understood, the message about God who created heaven and earth and all that is therein, and then that about the love of God. The love of God is in the ears of the heathen like a savoury food. For men will always be glad to hear that they are loved by a Lord, or a rich man, if they themselves are poor. The evangelist, therefore, will always speak about the love of God. In speaking of the creation of the world by God, he will show that God cannot do other than love us, which is shown by the Paradise which He destined for man's abode (then follow the stories of the Fall, of Abraham, etc.). But the love of God is most plainly shown in the sending of His Son, and most touchingly in the fact that Jesus died for us, and that God for His sake is willing to forgive our sins and raise us to the blessedness of heaven. The love of God dawns on catechumens and Christians when they reflect upon all His benefits. Many feel God's love in the hearing of their prayers. Then they gradually understand God's love for their souls. When they have seen God's love in the sending of His Son they venture

to pray for the forgiveness of their sins and to hope for eternal life." The catechist has carefully observed the progressive effect of the Gospel on the hearts of the heathen: the first impression is made by the knowledge of God the mighty Creator; this is followed by contact with the God thus known; then follows the message of the God who loves. The heathen discovers traces of God's love in His intercourse with the Old Testament saints; he passes on to trace God's merciful love in the blessings of his own life and in the answers to his prayers. The love of God which is revealed in His Son is perceived by the heathen only after he has gained a personal relation to God. That leads to a knowledge of his sinfulness, wakens the longing for forgiveness, and develops the hope of an eternal life. A whole series of presuppositions must be fulfilled before the love of God in His Son is understood and laid hold of.

Another Battak catechist presents the matter thus: "When the heathen hear an earnest preacher speaking about love they are astonished; they are also astonished when they hear of the love of God to men, that He even sent His Son to death that they might live. But for the most part they are only astonished; their narrow minds cannot at once take in the great message. Only at a later period, when Christianity has taken a deeper hold of their heart, do they more and more understand the love of God which was made manifest in Jesus." The contracted heart must therefore be enlarged before it is capable of receiving so great a message.

A Niasser Christian described his development as follows: "When Missionary Thomas first came to us it was said, What is the good of our going to church? We as yet knew nothing of our sins nor of prayer. Gradually we came to understand God's Word, and to see that the missionaries' intentions towards us were good." Thomas helped some families to get rid of their debt to a chief. "Then our hearts were glad at being free at last from the bad chief who had so afflicted us. I went every

Sunday to Church to hear God's Word, though at first I understood very little of it. I did not know that I had sinned against God; I did not know what would comfort my heart when it was sad; I did not even know whither my soul would go when I died, nor that God would judge me for my sins. I refrained from doing evil only because I was afraid of being punished. But when the Word of God gradually found an entrance to my heart, I knew that not the idols but God alone could help men. The idols can comfort no sad heart. Then I prayed to the Lord Jesus for forgiveness of my sins, threw away my idols, and was baptised. Since then I pray to God, have given myself to Him, and look to Him to save me. I am firmly convinced that Jesus forgives my sins when I repent and pray for forgiveness. The Lord Jesus also put it into my heart to learn to read and write. . . . God has also blessed me outwardly, because I have given myself to Him." Here also the way leads from the periphery to the centre: first, help in impoverishment followed by a hearty personal relation to the friendly missionary. For love of him the young man listens to the Word of God, though he does not understand it. Among the hearers of the Word the knowledge of the nothingness of idols is awakened, and faith in the living God, which soon leads to prayer. God is experienced. The idols are thrown away, and forgiveness is prayed for. More and more complete becomes the surrender of the whole man to Jesus the Saviour, whose friendly hand is disclosed in the guidance of the redeemed man's life.

Ama Gahonoa, on the west coast of Nias, to whom we have already referred, gives a clear account of his development. The Gospel commended itself to him as a promise of peaceful rest; he expected it to give him security and deliverance from fear. In listening to the story of salvation he was powerfully apprehended by the living God; in a life of sincere prayer he laid hold of God, and in living communion with Him grew in the inner man until Jesus' love took hold of him and awakened in him the knowledge

of sin, which was very vividly expressed. Ever since his life belongs entirely to Jesus his Lord. His progress is a kind of ideal example of the heathen Christian, advancing step by step to the full possession of salvation.[1] The spiritual development of all deeper grounded heathen Christians whom I have known in Battakland and in Nias is the same in its fundamental features. The knowledge of God's love in His Son, carrying with it the knowledge of their own sinfulness, is the apex of the pyramid. Many a stone must be laid before the topstone crowns the edifice. On the other hand, the spiritual life of those heathen Christians who have been brought up in Christianity is developed very much like our own.

On this foundation the love of God is disclosed to those whose communion with Him is more inward, until they are apprehended by the Saviour's love which becomes the second main experience of their life. The experience of all foreign missions is that the love of God is seen only in Christ Jesus who died on the cross and whom God raised from the dead. Despite its novelty, the heathen remains cold before the love of God; he acquiesces in it as a self-evident thing until he is overpowered by the mystery of the cross. It is not the exhibitions of God's love in the old Testament, nor the gracious miracles of Jesus, His healings, His compassion, nor even the experience of answered prayer that convinces the heathen of the love of God. The great miracle of giving the

[1] To prevent misunderstandings, let me say expressly that every heathen Christian is not like Ama Gahonoa either in his development or in his inward maturity. Our inquiry now leads us more and more upwards. While the experience of the personal God and a real deliverance by Him must be presupposed in the case of all who break with heathenism, the processes to be further analysed are seen only in those heathen Christians who improve what they have received, and allow themselves to be led further by the Divine gift. We except, of course, the thoughtless multitude who flock into the Church at a period of conversion of masses. But no outside critic need expect all converted heathen to improve the gift they have received and advance to higher attainments. Even in the heathen world the gate is narrow, and few there be who resolutely follow the narrow way till they reach the goal. But these few are just the people in whom we may see the working of the living forces of the Gospel.

loveless hearts of the heathen an inward experience of the love of God is wrought only by the Crucified. That is the kernel of their conversion. Jesus then becomes to them more than the mere victorious deliverer from Satan's chains; He is the embodiment of the love which rent the heavens to save the wretched.

This experience is not reached by all heathen Christians, but by those only who suffer themselves to be carried on from stage to stage by God's spirit. These are the best fruits of foreign missions, the sheep not of this fold who hear the shepherd's voice. The power of the cross is proved by the fact that in all missions to the heathen, from Paul's day until now, it is the great teacher of God's love, and that only those heathen who have been apprehended by that love at the cross are true Christians, full of divine life and power. To the heathen to-day, not only the educated, but the Animist and the uncivilised, as well as to the heathen of the early church, the preaching of the crucified is foolishness; but to them who see in it the love of God, it is a power unto salvation. Heathenism is overcome inwardly by the cross; the heathen are made new creatures by the crucified. This is where the secret of power must be sought. Wherever Protestant foreign missions have preached Jesus crucified for men, the Word has not returned empty, though oftentimes it has been long ere the results appeared.

To illustrate these observations from the different mission-fields would be to write the history of missions. We shall only give some characteristic indications, with the view of showing that the love of God in Christ is not indeed that which is first understood, but is in the end the moving power of heathen conversion.

The history of modern missions began with J. Beck, who, after five years' patient labour among the Esquimaux, had the joy of seeing that the story of the passion made the first impression on their incredibly stupid minds. That broke the ice (Kajarnack). Zeisberger had a similar experience among the Delawares; the preaching of salvation for all men in Christ had a profound effect. "I never saw so

clearly expressed on the faces of the Indians the darkness of hell and the world-conquering power of the Gospel." They could not hear enough of the message of the Saviour, and were constantly exclaiming: "Yes, it is surely so, that is the true way to salvation." Schneider reports of the first champions of the Moravian Mission: "What was the content, the starting-point and centre of the preaching of these missionaries? Simply that in which they themselves found peace and comfort . . . the incarnate, suffering, crucified and risen Christ. They were witnesses of Jesus Christ. If any of them attempted to lead the heathen to God by another way he failed." With this message they won victories among the Greenlanders, the Indians and the Negroes. Tschoog, one of the first baptised Indians of Pennsylvania, who, by his own statement, was formerly the greatest drunkard and the most willing slave of the devil among the savages, expressed himself as follows: "I was a heathen, and became old among the heathen, and am therefore well acquainted with everything about them. A preacher once came to instruct us, and began by proving to us that there is a God. Then we said: Why! do you think we do not know that? Return to where you came from. Again a preacher came desiring to teach us: You must not steal, he said, nor drink, nor lie. We answered him: You fool! do you think we do not know that? Learn that yourself, and teach the people you belong to not to do so. For who drinks, or steals, or lies more than your own people? And we sent him about his business likewise. After some time Charles Rauch came and sat down with me in my hut. The substance of what he said to me was this: I come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth. He wants you to know that He would like to make you happy, and that He desires to lift you out of your present misery. For that end He became man and shed His blood for you. He went on thus, and then lay down on a board in my hut and fell asleep, for he was weary with his journey. Then I thought: What sort of man is this? He lies there and sleeps so calmly. I could strike him dead, and throw him into the

wood—who would make any inquiry about him? But he is not uneasy. I could not, however, get rid of his words. They recurred to me again and again, and even when I slept I dreamed of the blood which Christ has shed for us. Then I thought this is something different, and I interpreted to the other Indians the further words which Charles Rauch spoke to us. Thus originated by God's grace the awakening among us. Therefore I say to you: Brethren, if you wish to be a blessing to the heathen, preach Christ to them, His blood, and His death."

Riedel was preparing for baptism an old priest in whom the spirit of God was evidently at work. When Riedel told him of Jesus the Redeemer, the old man said with tears: "That is a religion that is sweet, and comforts the heart. I know many gods and have sacrificed to many, but I never heard anything like that, that God sent His Son to be the Redeemer of sinful men. . . . We are afraid of our gods, but the true God loves us." On a missionary journey in Betsileoland the missionary Jukes was detained by heathen who already knew the Gospel; they entreated him to tell them something of the good man who died for the guilty. When Stosch, the missionary in India, quoted to a heathen the words: The Son of Man is come to seek and save the lost, he exclaimed in joyous wonder: "Is that the Gospel? then it is sweet." Richards, the missionary to the Congo negroes, after preaching the commandments for a long time in vain, told them simply the story of Jesus, and soon found attentive hearers. The story of Jesus' birth excited their keen interest. "I shall never forget the impression produced in the chief's town by the story of the crucifixion." After reading the narrative to the end, he spoke to them about the love of Jesus. "They were like men electrified; no one spoke a word. I would not have been surprised if they had said, We believe." The same effect was produced in another town by the story of the passion. The preaching of the death of Jesus on the Cross originated a movement throughout the land, and melted the ice around the heart of the long insusceptible negro. The Breklum missionary in India

produced a great movement towards Christianity by preaching about Jesus who died for us. But in all these cases a long preparatory work preceded the impression of Jesus' love.

The power exerted by the Saviour's love is not a mere passing excitement of feeling ; that is entirely foreign to the matter of fact Indonesian. The reality of the inward experience is confirmed by the fact that all those who taste the love of God are convinced of their own unworthiness and sin. The preaching of the divine law cannot do that. Even those who have been made acquainted with the Almighty God, and been delivered from the captivity of those who are not Gods, are very little troubled about their sinfulness. But the revelation of God's inmost nature in the love of Jesus makes them feel how unlike God they themselves were and are. An entirely new feeling is liberated: how valuable I must be to God when for my sake He died—and how unworthy I am of His love. The new light thrown on God falls on their own heart, and their self-righteousness gives way to profound shame. Then only does the heathen Christian begin to feel the distance between himself and the Holy God. He sees with a shudder the abyss on the brink of which he stood, and from which redeeming love has drawn him back. God's love is the only thing that dissolves the crust of self-satisfaction.[1] The condition of being lost is felt as a condition of debt. A heathen Christian in Omaruru said : "To me it is a marvel, and I cannot understand how God whom we are daily grieving and offending, whose heart we are again and again making sad, can continue to love us." The hard heart is conquered by the Saviour's love for sinners.[2]

[1] The father of a well-known African hunter said to the Missionary Ebner : "Our hearts are by nature as hard, inflexible and black as iron, and must be hammered like iron before they can be soft, clear and flexible. The Lord Jesus is the smith, His love the fire, and you are the bellows."

[2] There is of course no particular scheme in accordance with which a sense of sin is awakened among the heathen. The knowledge of their former moral shortcomings may be matured by their experience of the living, mighty, merciful God, as in the case of that Niasser woman who was cured of a serious illness by God's visible help. She confessed : God has healed me, and

Richards, the missionary to the Congo negroes, had for a long time laboured in vain to convince them of their moral depravity. Nothing he could say made any impression. One day he related the story of the crucifixion, which moved his hearers deeply; and then he said: "You have heard of this man who loved us, and went about doing good, and never did anything evil. Even Pilate was forced to confess: I find no evil in Him. But He died on the cross for your sins and mine. Will you now tell me that you are not sinners? He was reviled by the Pharisees and Sadducees, despised by the centurion, mocked by the soldiers who nailed Him to the cross, and yet, listen to what He says: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The ice round the hearts of these obdurate sinners melted, and candidates for baptism soon came forward. Hesse says of mission preaching in India, that Jesus' death on the cross reveals both the love and the severity of God. A Christian woman in South Africa confessed: "When I try to bring Jesus' great sufferings before my soul, I cannot possibly continue to sin wilfully. Oh, how I still feel those sins in me." In many heathen Christians the knowledge of sin arises suddenly; in most after a long hearing of the Word in sermons, or instruction as catechumens; in many still later, after they have long been Christians; but always through Jesus, and in proportion as they are affected by the death on the cross. In mission fields where the heathen are driven to the Christian Church in flocks, there are many who have no real conviction of their sinfulness: they consequently are in danger of imitating the experience expected of them.

In the case of most heathen Christians it is not the knowledge of sin that leads them to Jesus, the Reconciler: it is Jesus the Redeemer who leads them on to a knowledge of sin. We see here the working of the law of spiritual usury: to him that hath shall be given. The man who has been shown the Father, who has been set free by the love of Jesus,

I am now afraid lest I sin again. That is an experience similar to that of Peter (Lk. v. 8), whom gratitude for blessing received led to an overpowering sense of his sin.

receives further aid from the Author and Finisher of our faith: his dull eyes open to his own misery, and he sees dimly that all this work of God is of undeserved grace. He finds in Jesus infinitely greater treasures than he sought. But we must not set up a scheme which does not hold good in every case. Sometimes, even on virgin soil, the Saviour's love for sinners is the first thing in the Gospel that masters them. For the wind bloweth where it listeth. Anyhow, it is only Jesus, suffering, dying, who awakens the knowledge of sin; He does so often with surprising suddenness and without any preparatory mediation perceptible at least to human eyes.[1]

The heathen, now in possession of this precious relation to God, comes to see in sin a danger menacing it. And it is the death of Christ, necessary for taking away the sin of the world, which opens his eyes to this fact. The dying of the Son of God convinces him of the guilt of men as well as of the love of God. Jesus becomes thus more and more the determining power of his religious life; He has made him know God: He has set him free from the power of the devil; He has made the love of God stream over him, and opened his eyes to his own sinfulness; He will free him from this inward foe, granting him forgiveness and the strength to fight. The name of Jesus becomes to the heathen Christian, the Alpha and Omega of salvation.

[1] Gloyer had an example of this in Jeypur. "In a village dwelt a robber, Chief Muria, a shameless fellow, who came to me and said: if I would only venture to enter his village, I would learn how powerful he was. When I arrived he stood on the street with his followers heavily armed. I preached to him about the Saviour who for our sins was so weak that He bowed His head and gave up the ghost, and who is so strong that every knee in earth and heaven must bow to Him, even the knees of robbers. The man then stepped in front of me, bared his strong arm, showed his scars, and said: Lo, these scars are the marks of my crimes. Can the Saviour of whom you speak save as great a sinner as I? To which I answered: You came to me and said you were prepared to beat in my skull. You may do it if what I say is not true: it is written where sin abounded, grace hath much more abounded. The man went apart, sat down, and sobbed loud, I have seen Him die. There he sat . . . . and sang: Jesus receiveth sinners, hath even received me. He then bared his arm, showed his scars, and said: No man knows how bad I am, but my sins are forgiven me."

This awakening consciousness of sin in a heathen man is an entirely new psychological experience. There is nothing in animistic heathenism with which it can be connected; that has neither any knowledge of sin against God nor any desire for forgiveness. And yet a lively knowledge of sin is no rare thing in the heathen Christian world. There can be few baptised heathens—at least in the first days of mission work, when the forces of the Gospel are most direct in their action—who do not sincerely pray for the forgiveness of their sins. Two things co-operate to make this striking fact psychologically intelligible; the love of Jesus humbling the proud self-righteous heart, and intercourse with the living Holy God revolutionising the man's own self estimate. Among all heathen Christians who are not mere camp followers, but who have gained an inner life of their own, the consciousness of sin, and the longing for reconciliation, are lively. There are no pious heathen Christians without a real sense of sin. But their experience of forgiveness is, we might say, more imposing; and their faith, after they have been redeemed from the devil, and brought into fellowship with God, is more confident than ours. Looking back on their heathen past they see that sin stood between them and God no less than the demons, and that for the sins committed even in that time of darkness they were themselves to blame. A former magic priest at Samosir (Sumatra), several of whose children died after he became a Christian, saw in their deaths the righteous punishment of God for evils he had formerly done to many people. The Niasser, Ama Gahonoa, came to see that earthly misery and unrest were the outcome not so much of outward circumstances as of the corrupt hearts of men. In his case the knowledge of sin broke forth with power; he testified to his countrymen how, as a heathen, he transgressed God's commandments. A Papuan Christian, who suffered greatly on a sick bed, said: "I am suffering so much from headaches now, because I had a hard head so long, and spoke and acted wickedly."[1]

[1] Stosch testifies that a sense of sin is often touchingly expressed by the Tamul Christians. "It may be said that many native Christians have a clearer consciousness of the forgiveness of sin than many in Christendom."

Those who advance to a knowledge of sin are the true Christians, the good fruits of mission work. Satan, at first their greatest and only conscious enemy, falls into the background, and sin is feared increasingly as the more dangerous opponent. There are those also who love their Saviour most sincerely. With them it is as with the sinful woman in the Gospel; they cannot but love the Saviour, because His forgiving grace has opened their eyes to the grievous sins of their heathen past. Delivered from the night of darkness they embrace their Deliverer with all the strength of their grateful souls. This stage of spiritual growth is not reached by all heathen Christians; many of them rest on their first experience, viz., deliverance from the sway of demons. These are inclined to deny any personal guilt, to ascribe their moral backwardness to the temptations of the devil, whom they substitute for fate, and to regard the forgiveness of sin as merely a natural function of God.[1] They have really experienced the first deliverance; they have come also to know the living God; but they feel no obligation to co-operate in maintaining communion with Him. Such rudimentary Christians, on whom the curse of stagnation lies, think it sufficient to confess to the missionary their open sins; their wounds are supposed to vanish, leaving not even a scar, and no one has the right to recall them again. If you do, you get the astonished answer: "Have I not already confessed?" These superficial Christians fancy their sins to be an offence to the missionary, seeing they bring down his displeasure on them, and they often pray quite naively: "Missionary, I want my sins forgiven." They do not see that sin stands between them and God. It is they who are little affected by the love of God in Christ. Only in presence of the world-wide compassionate love of the Saviour does the heathen Christian understand

[1] Average Christians are often heard giving such excuses for their moral faults as, "The devil tempted me," "I was deceived by the devil." Such people do not always feel sin as a personal fault, but see in it something of the power of fate, and of the demons, out of whose clutches God alone can deliver them. The sense of responsibility is still weak, or hardly existent.

how great his guilt must be when God Himself must enter into humanity and die, in order to provide a remedy. Sin never disquiets those whose inmost soul is not touched by the love of God.

The deliverance from Satanic powers, and their renunciation of the kingdom of darkness, are effected at once; the comprehension of God's love, however, and the resulting knowledge of their own unworthiness is gradual, increasing in depth throughout their whole life. That first deliverance is like the storm in spring time, which breaks with wild glee the fetters of the ice, and chases away the snow clouds; the Saviour's love for sinful men is rather like the sun of spring, whose mild rays dispel all winter's traces, wakening flowers and trees from their winter's sleep, and making them to bud and blossom.

What we keep separate in our inquiry may be closely interlaced in reality. In a few cases here and there, the knowledge of God's love may be primary; in a few it may be contemporary with the experience of deliverance. Among the working forces of the Gospel are often found God's gentle allurement, which makes the heathen taste of His prevenient goodness, at another time by an earnest warning to the indifferent or hardened. No model for heathen conversion can be set up. But with every psychological variation the powers operative in producing the change are those mentioned above. However their spiritual development may progress, the force of every true life among them is Jesus the Son of God, who died on the Cross, revealing the Divine love. It is His love which wins them; His love which compels the heathen to bow to the judgment of guilt which wrought His death for us; His love which causes them to seek cleansing for their sin; His love which conquers their selfishness and impels them, pardoned children of God, to begin a new life, whose genesis and development is a miracle, which nothing but the power of God in Jesus could accomplish.

No heathen Christian doubts that the mighty Jesus at work in them is God. Considering the great gifts he has

received, and is constantly receiving, from Jesus, he feels the divinity of the Giver to be self-evident. The greater the good, which any one knows himself to receive from Jesus Christ, the greater must he think Him to be.

The relation of the heathen Christian to God advances by stages. The first stage is the removal of the wall of separation, the cessation of all intercourse with the devilish powers, and the entrance into a childlike, trustful relation with the living God. The second stage is being apprehended by the love of God, a surrender to that love, and in the light of it a knowledge of sin, and a longing for forgiveness. The third stage is moral renewal, the maintenance of the good gained through constant warfare against sin. Each acquisition may, in its turn, be lost. The inviolable laws of growth are that he retrogrades who stands still, who does not strengthen by conflict what he has gained. If the filial relation to God is not maintained against ever-active sin, if it is not daily renewed by repentance and prayer for forgiveness, this fellowship is lost, and the man may fall back into heathenism and its bondage. Such backsliders need not be hypocrites; they have simply failed to keep what they received. Many in the heathen world gladly welcome Jesus as Deliverer and Redeemer from the bondage of fear and death who have not the energy to enter into the conflict with sin. They rejoice in the gift; they know how to prize it; but they shrink from the duty connected with it.

The new religious relation which must work itself out through the life begins then on this first stage. The heathen Christian is a servant of God, and has to learn from Him what to do and what to forbear doing. At this stage the convert scarcely feels his sin as sin, but he is ready to abandon anything in the former custom which God forbids. To all heathen Christians at this stage the commandments have the educative significance they had to the people of Israel. Moral work is of the law; it is done by constraint. A true moral life can only be developed in them on the basis of that new relation to God which opens their eyes

to their own unworthiness. New forces of the Gospel are thereby brought into the arena, forces of moral renewal. Here also the Gospel presents itself as a gift, for the new morality can only be carried out with God's help, on the basis of communion with Him, which is a gift of grace. The branch cannot bear fruit except it abide in the vine. The moral renewal is not felt as a demand but as an experience. The New Testament ascribes it to God. We have already seen that animistic heathenism perverts moral values;[1] it has no fixed moral standards; it even sanctions infamies, deduces them from the custom, nay, declares that some of them have religious value and are wholesome. God is not brought into connection with their moral code. Its few brighter features cannot essentially influence the determining power of the immorality. Animistic religiousness produces moral coarseness and blind self-righteousness. The organ for morality, and the sense of personal responsibility, are destroyed by their fatalism and religious communism.

The heathen heart, as we have seen, is reached not from the moral but from the religious side. The heathen has gained a living relation to God and a conviction through Christ of his own sinfulness. That is followed by a personal obligation to a moral transformation for God's sake. He has now a thorough religious interest in his own moral renewal. To maintain communion with God, the highest good which the Gospel has given him, he must become more and more like God. The impulse to a pure life has its origin in God. The new religious life imperatively demands a new moral behaviour. Hence moral regeneration becomes a gift, a creation of God, who deems the degraded heathen worthy of His fellowship. Cleaving to Him in the consciousness of his own weakness, the heathen Christian prays for divine powers to carry out the moral work. The life of prayer is thereby deepened, and intercourse with the Heavenly Father becomes more intimate, for now he prays not as at first for deliverance from earthly

[1] See pp. 125-130.

distress and for proofs of the Divine power, but more intensely and with much greater feeling of need for the preservation of spiritual blessings and for the moral powers necessary thereto. The interest of his spiritual capital is coming in. He hath, and it is being added unto him.

Christian morality is not the beginning of the spiritual revolution; it is not the goal; neither does it exist for its own sake; its importance is as a necessary means of maintaining communion with God. It becomes a religious need of the redeemed, not from gratitude, but from the impulse of spiritual self-preservation. A godly life is not the presupposition of the new relation to God; rather it is its natural result, whose lack must destroy communion with God, for only the pure in heart see Him. The New Testament emphatically demands that we be like God, have the mind of Christ, become His followers. The battle with sin is fought for God's sake. Whence does the young Christian now know with absolute certainty that he must no longer lie, steal, covet, or practise fornication? Experience teaches him that such defilements separate him from God. Intercourse with God educates the formerly perverted conscience. The more inward the relation to God, the more tender and susceptible becomes the conscience; it becomes an organ of the soul for feeling the disturbances of that relation. These processes in the soul of heathen Christians originate in their new birth, for no heathen religiousness knows that the relation of man to God is endangered by immoral conduct and is preserved by moral effort.

Moral growth is slow; it progresses not by leaps, but step by step. The grosser heathen abominations certainly are given up at once, as soon as the heathen know the true God, and their animistic view of the world, with its egoistic consequences, is broken up. The missionary has no need to waste a word on cannibalism, the use of charms, human sacrifice, sorcery; such things cease of themselves among the professing Christians. Even heathen who have only come into contact with Christianity feel that a disciple of God

must no longer rob, steal, capture slaves, commit adultery, smoke opium, swear an oath, or murder. Does not the religious preaching reveal an enormous moral power when, without any direct insistence on the law or any constraint, it uproots those abominations of animistic heathenism? If the moral conduct of heathen Christians leaves much to be desired, let us bear in mind all they have so freely given up. But yet the heathen Christian, when he boldly burns his idols and professes the new faith with gladness of heart, has little divination of how variously and strongly the new powers of the Gospel must be developed in the moral region. He thinks he is in full possession of all the new gifts of Christianity while the work of appropriation and inward change is only begun. In that he is not unlike many young converts in Christendom; but God's Spirit, into whose school he has voluntarily entered, will gradually lead him into all truth.

Consider the tremendous revolution of thought, will, and feeling in any converted heathen! Everything in him is changed; it is necessary for him to accommodate himself to the new situation, and make it in everything the standard of his conduct; he must be in constant conflict with his former instincts, with inherited views, with manners and customs deemed sacred. He finds himself in a new world; his gods broken in pieces, and the living God risen upon him, in Whose light he must needs conceive life in all its aspects. No longer may he treat his fellow-man as an enemy, seeking to gain from him only what profit he can, but as one redeemed and loved of God whom he must also love. He looks with other eyes upon his children, souls entrusted to him by God, his wife,[1] his parents, the men of his village and tribe, his chief, his subjects, his enemies. In that way he grows in the knowledge of God and of the love of Jesus, and wins them for his sure possession. This love coming to him as the greatest of gifts changes into the highest of commandments. From Jesus' love he learns to love his fellow-men, especially his fellow-believers, with whom he feels himself united by a

[1] A baptised Dayak declared: "Because I now love God, I can love my wife better than I formerly did."

common love of Jesus. One of the most refreshing features among all heathen Christians is that they recognise and love as brethren those whom they formerly suspected and hated as enemies, and that as a matter of course.[1] Self-regarding duties also present themselves to the young Christian; freed from the sway of the Devil and the service of sin, he feels himself now the property of Jesus and a temple of the Holy Ghost. He thus learns self-respect and self-discipline in aim and act—tasks novel and strange.

Is it surprising that the new convert should need a long time to find his way amid the forest of new impressions and new duties? or that he should so often stumble and go astray? The practice of moral duties is far harder to him than to us who have grown up amid Christian morality. Our need is simply the will to obey. With the heathen Christian it is very different. He must learn his new duties one by one; he must find a way of obedience in the teeth of all his spiritual inheritance from his ancestors, the opposition of comrades who still think as of old, and often the resistance, bitter and hard, of his own family. Through course of time also the joy and excitement of redemption die down, and then the national failings reveal their paralysing power. He marched into the Christian camp of freedom and love with flying banners, never dreaming of the long, weary warfare awaiting him. The heathen apply a very strict standard to their Christian fellow-countrymen. That proves more clearly than any particular moral acts we could adduce that Christians strive very earnestly even from the beginning for moral improvement. Their heathen neighbours expect that Christians will not lie, or steal, or scold, or use doubtful language, will not stand arrogantly on their rights, or be irreconcilable, will avoid acts which the heathen do not take amiss in one of themselves. If a heathen is deceived by a Christian he makes a great outcry; that is what a Christian

[1] Fetero once said to Fadoli, a converted leader of the head-hunters on Nias: "You wished to make war on my father and me, and to-day we face each other as brothers. Who has brought that about? God alone, who willeth not the death of the sinner."

must not do. Hence the general walk of the Christian must awaken among the heathen the beneficent impression of a high morality.

The decisive fact for the development of the new morality is that Jesus have the central place in the life of the young Christian. All who have become Christian for other reasons, to whom Jesus as the self-revelation of God, the Deliverer and Impersonator of God's love, has not become a living possession, will either make shipwreck in the duties of the new life, or will remain their lifetime in the harbour. But he who gives himself up to Jesus' guidance will be led by Him into the duties of morality, and will be endowed with strength for their fulfilment. His faith, at first a mere assent to what he has heard, then a childlike confidence based on what he has experienced, will now be completed in obedience. Jesus, to whom he owes everything, becomes the highest authority, whom he obeys in all things; Jesus' word becomes his supreme law. Heathen Christian communities frequently exhibit this obedience in a way that puts us to shame. Because Jesus prohibited divorce the Christian retains his childless wife, though suffering severely from the want of children and though his heathen relations, who cannot understand such conduct, urge him to divorce her. Because Jesus requires us to forgive our enemies, the candidate for baptism goes to his deadly enemy, a man who perhaps has slain his son, and gives him the hand of forgiveness.[1] He who for-

[1] A woman was about to be baptised in Balige (Sumatra). In the candidates' class along with her was a chief who had formerly slain her husband, and who now besought Amanda, before being baptised, to give him her hand in token of forgiveness. She refused, saying, "I have in my heart forgiven all, but to put my hand in the hand which slew my husband is too much for me." Then she mastered herself, and, though trembling from head to foot, she placed her hand in that of the chief as a token of complete reconciliation. In New Zealand the Lord's Supper was being celebrated. The first rank having knelt, a native rose up and returned to his seat, but again returned to the rank and knelt down. Being questioned, he said, "When I went to the table I did not know whom I would have to kneel beside, when suddenly I saw by my side the man who, a few years before, slew my father and drank his blood, and whom I then devoted to death. Imagine what I felt when I suddenly found him by my side. A rush of feeling came over me that I could not endure, and I went back to my seat. But when I got there I saw

merly stole, voluntarily restores to the injured party the stolen goods. The youth remains steadfast against the enticements to unchastity. These are all expressions of the new obedience which we have often seen among the Battaks and Niassers, and which we find again and again attested in all mission records.

Add to that, in the second place, the motive of gratitude to the Redeemer who loves us so infinitely. The heathen knows nothing of gratitude. But the great gift has enlarged his heart. Gratitude to the Saviour, whom he has learnt to love, leads the heathen Christian to endure reproach and persecution. Gratitude impels him to become a voluntary evangelist to his heathen countrymen; we come across this in most heathen Christian churches. The voluntary testimony of a heathen Christian of what he has experienced is a direct test of the genuineness of his conversion. This impulse to evangelisation was very lively among the first Christians in the Battak mission. The first converts in Silindung were zealous missionaries. Pilgram, the missionary in Balige (Toba), testified that his first pupils became missionaries to their parents and relations. At a later period we find the missionary zeal of the elders of that place extolled. One of them said: "I have not slept a whole night for weeks. We speak with the people almost every night till twelve o'clock, and should be, if it were possible, in four or five places at the same time. Even chiefs from Si Gaol and Samosir (on the other side of the Toba Sea) invited us to preach in their houses." It was owing to the evangelising impulse of the Battak Christians that the Gospel spread so quickly and in such a healthy way in Sumatra. The Battak Church has even formed a missionary society which carries on almost independently mission work among its heathen countrymen, and has now sent forth two native preachers and several teachers and evangelists whom it supports.

the upper sanctuary and the great supper, and thought I heard a voice saying, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.' That overpowered me. I sat down, and at once seemed to see another vision of a cross with a man nailed to it, and I heard Him say: 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'—then I returned to the altar."

The mission in Nias experienced a sudden growth when the heathen Christians began to evangelise. Men like Fetero and Solago, already mentioned, are evangelists by God's grace. Their zeal succeeded in opening up the whole west of Nias, together with the island of Nakko, and in procuring an entrance for the Gospel among the notorious head-hunters there. This missionary zeal of theirs is somewhat disconcerting. They drop their work, leave their families for weeks, expose themselves to the greatest dangers, willingly submit to mockery and derision, endure hunger, heat, and weariness, without seeking any reward. And God has crowned their unselfish labours with a special blessing.

Newly converted heathen Christians in Minahassa became zealous helpers in spreading the Gospel; they vigorously supported the mission in their homeland and elsewhere; the community at Manganitu sent an evangelist to Talaur; the same thing took place at Ambon. Mission societies have been formed on Ceram, which partly seek out independent fields of labour among their heathen countrymen, partly support mission work with their contributions. When the Duma community on Halmahera began to evangelise among the heathen, its own Christian life was seen to get a new impulse. We had the same joyous experience in the Battak Christian communities. Wherever mission work is zealously carried on, it advances the spiritual life of the community engaged in it. The baptised Herero diligently carry on mission work among their people. The first convert of Ovambo, Abraham, felt impelled to proclaim God's Word unceasingly to his people. Unknown people often appeared at our services, and when they were asked who first spoke God's Word to them, the invariable answer was Abraham. Bechler boasts of the missionary talent of all South African Christians. Richter, likewise, of the missionary zeal of the Congo negroes.

"A specially outstanding characteristic of the Madagascar Christians from the beginning was their missionary talent, which made them carry the glad message of Christ the Saviour of sinners to their heathen countrymen." Very

many of them are preachers, voluntary evangelists, and the earnestness of some of them would put to shame many in England. They go forth in the burning sun for five or six hours, with one sole purpose—to proclaim Christ, and almost without any earthly reward. Here is a carpenter in the service of the government, who works in Ambohimare, three full hours from the capital. He leaves his post on Saturday afternoon and travels from six to seven hours in order to preach on Sunday in some villages about four hours south from Antananarivo ; when the service is over he starts homeward and takes up his work again on Monday morning. Many are animated by such zeal in preaching the Gospel. Miescher testifies : "Referring to the question about the reality of conversions, we encounter frequently a remarkable joyousness of testimony, an eagerness to convert others, similar to what we see in the newly-converted among ourselves. Only the testimony of the heathen Christians has, perhaps, more than among us, a wonderful directness." He mentions as one example among many the extensive missionary activity of the American negro churches. The zealous missionary work of the Christianised islanders of Oceania is well known. The communities of the Karens in Rangoon have begun to send out native preachers among their heathen countrymen, aye, as far off as Siam. The missionary zeal of the Santal Christians is celebrated ; they extol the Gospel gift to their countrymen with the invitation : "Come ! we have found something good." The Christians of the Presbyterian Mission on Formosa have already their own missionary society. The evangelising of Korea is carried on chiefly by the missionary zeal of native Christians. "A colporteur with his bag of books has gone through a province and has sold, taught, explained ; a peasant has heard a sermon in the city or a market town, or has received the gift of a tract ; a sick person has visited a mission dispensary or hospital and carries away medicine for the sick soul ; a Christian pedlar among his other wares has some Christian writings for sale, and passes the evening in reading and explaining them to the listening peasants ; a Christian of

his own free will goes into a heathen village to carry thither the glad message; a believing family move into a heathen neighbourhood and let their light shine." The real power of propaganda lies in the community. Many Christians have bound themselves to set apart a day, or a week, or a month, for preaching the Gospel in the surrounding heathen district.[1]

Jesus also becomes a pattern to the heathen Christians who are in union with Him. That, no doubt, implies a higher stage of Christian life than many of them have attained. The great majority of Christians in the Indian Archipelago look to the elders and teachers of the community as examples, and they in turn to the missionary. Whatever they see these do they try to imitate. Occasionally we hear such sayings as these: "If the teacher does not take the truth seriously, I need not do so." "The elder is living in strife with an opponent, therefore we need not make it up." We cannot present the picture of Jesus to our heathen Christians in the same way and with the same results as Paul in his epistles. The human side of Jesus' person seems to have little attraction for the young heathen Christians. In Him they see God, obey and serve Him as such; His human perfection seems to them too far above ours. But He becomes a pattern to those who cultivate a more familiar intercourse with Him.[2] His love, and not least His love for His enemies, touches their hearts, and implants the germs of similar emotions. Their moral conduct is directed by Jesus as far as their religious life is rooted in Him, for whoever has real communion with Him feels it necessary to be like minded with Him.

[1] Whereas it is said of Japan: "It is an almost universal complaint in Japan that the Christian laity have little desire for aggressive evangelistic work." That is exceptional in the mission field, and not a good sign for the life of the young Church.

[2] It is said of the Niasser Fetero: "In course of time we rejoiced and thanked God that the watchword of his life more and more came to be: What would Jesus do? Jesus was and is his only guide. When they (Fetero and a friend who had visited Sumatra to see the Christian community there) visited Brother Reitze at his station, in that region where there is still daily war and strife, and saw how Reitze was so much taken up with contentions, Fetero said sadly: Tua (master), would Jesus have done that?"

Heathen Christians are told that Jesus will come again at the last day to judge the living and the dead. The eschatalogical outlook had great results in the early church; it makes little impression on any heathen Christians I have known. The reason may be that many preachers are themselves little affected by it, and so emphasise more vividly other elements of their message. But the deepest reason probably is that the greatness of the gift they have received makes them calm in prospect of the judgment of the world: Jesus has done such great things for me, can He condemn me in the judgment? The simple childlike trust in the strong Saviour hardly allows fear of the final judgment. Dying Christians go to their Saviour with great joyfulness; sure of His friendship, they have no anxiety about the judgment.

The experience of God's power and love removes two great hindrances which choke all moral effort among the heathen, viz., determinism and communism. Belief in the living God, whose power has been felt by the Christian, shatters belief in an unchangeable destiny. The young Christian knows that his lot is at all times in God's hand, and that He can change it as He wills. He has learned that in prayer. He is brought to see also that his good or evil deeds are not fore-ordained but depend upon himself. The feeling grows that he is responsible to God for his thoughts and actions. That renders possible a full moral growth. The heathen says: I cannot change myself, for I was thus created. The Christian who has still to fight in his own breast with his inborn mode of thought[1] comes to understand that he is responsible for his acts. The death of Christ opens his eyes to his guilt; he finds that he can fight successfully in the strength of his Saviour against his faults. The further he advances in obedience the more the roots of heathen fatalism are torn from his heart.

[1] It is impossible that such a notion fixed in the soul of the people should vanish from the heart all at once. We meet abundant traces of it among Christians. One of our Battak seminarists in a trial sermon said: There are three kinds of suffering, those which God sends to purify us, then penal sufferings, and lastly fate. Many a lazy Christian is fond of appealing to the decisions of fate as an excuse for his moral defects.

Jesus removes also the second obstruction to moral life, that feeling of solidarity which deprives the individual of judgment and decision in moral and religious matters. Contact with the living God and experience of His love in Christ teaches the heathen Christian to feel himself a person, an individual precious in God's sight. A personal religious life produces a personal moral life. Others may think and act as they please, the Christian knows his own worth and his way. In finding a position towards God his soul becomes to him something entirely different from what it was when he was an Animist. This rousing of the herd of men to a personal life is one of the great services of Christianity to animistic peoples. And the sense of personality grows in proportion to their fellowship with Jesus. In mission fields where great masses turn towards Christianity, many come through the inherited communistic impulse of having to do what the others do.[1] But when these appear for instruction, with a view to baptism, they undergo, if at all susceptible, and if they do not turn back in disappoint-

[1] In the Battak mission we often get the answer to the question why they wish to be Christians: "Because others have become Christians." We were told by chiefs of a heathen province that Mohammedans had come to persuade them to accept Islam. But they had answered: "We are going to be Christians, for our tribesmen in Silindung have become Christians." That is similar to what took place in mediæval missions; religion and change of religion are held to be matters for the whole people wherein they must act as far as possible together (*cf.* p. 136 ff.). An earnest Shambala teacher confessed: "When I saw my brother-in-law becoming a Christian I also became one." This mode of thought in certain circumstances drives many into the arms of Christianity. We should not turn away from such people with moral indignation. After a few pioneers, then families, and finally provinces have taken the lead, a way is opened for making the new religion credible to the multitude (*cf.* p. 145, note 2). They are not of course baptised on account of such communistic movements, which, however, prepare them to place themselves under the divine message, and they can be received for instruction. All led in this way to Christianity do not get to the heart of it; that accords with the universal experience of Christ's Church that many are called but few are chosen, and that not every one who has learned to say Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom. Many heathen Christians who afterwards attain to genuine faith were first brought to Christianity by following the example of their fellows. The divine powers of the Gospel can take effect on all who are willing to come, no matter what motive caused the first step if only they allow these powers to work.

ment, a change of thought. They begin to feel the importance of personal decision. But only those who come to know Jesus as the Saviour are yet finally free from the constraint of solidarity; only they discover that they are responsible persons, and that in proportion as Jesus becomes the power of their religious life. From this fetter also the Son makes them free.

On this basis, the organ for personal responsibility having been awakened, moral work can now proceed. At first the new convert in his uncertainty will often have to turn to his missionary for directions. Feeling dimly that everything has become new, he will ask: May I still drink palm wine? may I graze my cattle on Sunday? Is it wrong for me to betroth my child at an early age? May I defend myself against the assaults of the heathen?[1] But if he cultivate intercourse with God through prayer and reading of the Bible, his conscience will be formed and improved. Advanced heathen Christians frequently display a moral delicacy which, considering their former coarseness, is simply astounding. Constant intercourse with God throws light on every circumstance of life, and enables men, even in difficult cases, to find the true solution.

If the apprehension of the love of God and the feeling of unworthiness which that awakened was not so much an act single and complete as the germ of a new life to be slowly developed, how slowly and gradually will not the moral transformation permeate the whole life? A great battle may be decided in a day, but the driving out of small hostile bands from a difficult country abounding in defiles requires much perseverance and long time. But the pledge of the Gospel's victorious power is the earnestness with which this petty warfare is carried on. The moral development may be interrupted by falls, for dangers and temptations are very

[1] Missionary literature gives many proofs of this touching search for new directives. Some Kols from Kutam came in distress to the missionary. The Thikadar had made a Christian villager the Munda, had placed on him the turban according to the custom, and caused the drums to be beaten. The Christians were distressed, and wanted to hear from the missionary if they had thereby committed a wrong.

numerous. His experience of the power and love of the Redeemer-God will incline the heathen Christian to attach little value to his own moral efforts, for his salvation rests entirely on God's doing. The heathen custom will occasionally tempt him to acts, of the impropriety and tendencies of which he is hardly conscious. The tension of the inner life will slacken, and he will become less circumspect in his walk with God. All that does not condemn the heathen Christian if he finds his way back to God.

The judgment of spectators of missions who adduce the lapses of heathen Christians as evidence that mission work is ineffective, and that the baptised are one and all hypocrites, is utterly unfair. Can the European traveller really expect to find perfect Christians in these young communities? Frequently it is to temptations brought by the white man himself that these young heathen converts succumb; but, apart from that, we should remember how immature they are, and that moral progress with them as with us is a series of falls and recoveries. To put it in the figure of a Battak teacher: the moral progress of the Christian is like the wheel of a waggon which is sometimes up, sometimes down, sometimes in the mire, sometimes on the clean street, but always advancing.[1] Compared with what they were, heathen Christians have undergone a profound change. One sin only must be differently assessed, relapse into heathenism, for that means not a moral lapse but a conscious denial of the true God, and a resolute breaking away from His communion. This sin is therefore in every mission church visited with the severest discipline, with the complete moral assent of the young community.

The earnest efforts of heathen Christians to live a God-pleasing life are tried severely in the struggle which they carry on against the depraved national customs and the traditional national vices. Few critics of foreign missions sufficiently appreciate the severity of this struggle. They

[1] Zinzendorf warned his missionaries not to expect too much from the young heathen Christians: "Do not measure souls with the Moravian yard stick."

must perpetually reckon with the national customs, and adapt their ways over against them, and that produces a constant feeling of strain and much heat between both parties. The moral conflict, difficult in itself, is aggravated by the powerful hostility of the guardians of the custom, and by the hatred of the people. But the heathen Christians inwardly renewed by Christianity fearlessly stand up to their opponents. Like all members of the Malay race the Battaks are by nature untruthful, insincere and cunning. The Christians among them are not of course absolutely reliable and truthful from the moment of their baptism; missionaries have abundant cause to bewail the lies of their converts. But they recognise their faults and fight against them; they become ashamed of lying.[1] Often they prevail over themselves to speak the truth, and they confess a lie voluntarily even when by so doing they involve themselves in injury and punishment. The Battak is by nature lazy; the Christians among them are everywhere diligent. Naturally timid, they become brave through their confidence in God. Little things betray the moral progress clearly enough. There are individuals in advance of the mass. We have Battak Christians whose word can be absolutely trusted. These are examples to the community, and are highly esteemed by the heathen. We are told of the Niassers: "Former vices such as drinking palm wine, cursing, lying, dishonesty, are more and more recognised to be vices and given up." Nottrott enlarges on the moral condition of the Kols communities, and declares that, in spite of many defects, great things have been accomplished, and that Christians get the better of their national defects. It would take volumes to enumerate how through God's grace the Alfurus, the Ambonese, the inhabitants of the South Seas, the Basutos, the Kaffirs of South Africa, the Baganda in East Africa, the inhabitants of Madagascar, the

[1] The Mohammedans in Sumatra put more trust in Christians than in their fellow believers. A Mohammedan said: "If I lend money to a Mohammedan, witnesses must be present; in the case of a Christian that is not necessary. The heathen in South Africa know that baptised black women do not lie nor deceive.

Karens, etc., have become new men. It is sufficient here to state that the appropriation of the good message is regularly followed by moral renewal.

We cannot rate too highly the noble struggle against the national custom, for that custom is "not a mere conglomerate of ungrounded and incoherent details, but the inevitable result of a host of factors internal and external." "Their moral life is never a mere conflict with sin in their own heart; it is a struggle at the same time with views and habits imbibed from childhood, with heathen surroundings in their own family and relations, in the tribe, and in the nation. This struggle is intensified in two ways: (1) This national custom has grown out of the spiritual soil in which the young Christian is himself rooted; to neglect it, to oppose it, is like uprooting himself from the soil where his life grew. (2) These customs are so inextricably interwoven and interrelated with his whole manner of life from childhood that moral difficulties arise peculiar to his state, and felt only by such as he, which no foreigner can fairly appreciate." To speak the truth, to be honest, is, in the opinion of the Kaffir, to be ridiculous, a stupid booby. Any one who lives soberly and chastely does not come up to the ideal of manliness. It is easy to see that the ethical demands of Christianity are very hard to carry out in the face of this oppressive national custom.

The Christian Church, the new community into which he has entered, helps the young Christian in this conflict. It gives a home to those detached from their nationality; it instructs them; it disciplines them, not to judge and enslave them, but to support their stumbling steps back to the right way. The community must not be afraid to set up in the interests of Christian education commandments and laws which, like finger-posts or notice-boards, make it easier for the young Christian to find his whereabouts.[1] Such things

[1] "It is very important that the commandment be rightly explained to the catechumens, and the contents of the moral law urgently set before them; the law must be to them a schoolmaster, all the more that hitherto they have lived as they listed."

are useful not to the weak members of the community only; the advanced Christians are grateful when such distinct fences are erected, and they constantly ask for them. We all know from our own experience that one of the most important factors in the Christian education of men to moral independence is the habit of doing good. We should over-estimate the maturity of the young Christian were we not to support him in the good by a control of his conduct somewhat legal, strengthening him in this conflict. Such disciplinary acts and laws cannot, and must not, be used to replace their own moral life; however they help to protect the budding plant; they prop it up amid life's storms. But above all, the Church strengthens and fosters the religious life of its young members, by teaching them the Word of God in sermons, Bible readings, and hours of prayer, by putting into their hands the Bible and other Christian books. The stronger their religious life grows, the more zealous Bible readers they become. They search the Scriptures with a quickened understanding, and find in them forces of moral and religious life. Bible reading is a necessity to every better heathen Christian. Wherever that is lacking, religious growth and moral development are alike in a backward state.

It is instructive to observe what special moral excellences pertain to the young heathen Christians. Not always, certainly, but very frequently we meet with sincere gratitude to the messenger of the Gospel for the Divine gifts. Many a missionary at his departure, or on his death-bed, has seen tears of gratitude flow from his coloured converts. The Niasser Fetero said with tears at the departure of the missionary Lett: "If I had to bid farewell to my father it would not be so bad as to part from you; for he gave me only bodily life, but you brought us God's Word, the eternal life for our souls." Another Christian wrote to him: "My heart ever thinks of how compassionate you were that night we were so suddenly taken ill, running here and there to get medicine."[1] Many Battak Christians are heartily grateful

[1] Merensky says of the community in Bapediland: "Strict abandonment of heathenism, watched by the whole community of Christians and catechu-

to their spiritual fathers, and many would give their lives for the missionary. Such gratitude, no usual feature in the heathen character, is easily understood when we bear in mind that it was the messenger's loving-kindness which first made an impression on their hearts, and that it was through his mediation that they received all spiritual and many earthly blessings.

Further, the heathen Christians, though certainly not all, are celebrated for their liberality. "Liberality is no characteristic of the heathen or of the Mohammedans of the Indian Archipelago; and when we hear of the cheerful and hearty giving of the Christians in Minahassa we infer that the Gospel has had a great influence on them." The glad giving of the few Christians in Duma and Dutch New Guinea is emphasised. The Battak church gives a comparatively large sum for church purposes, building of churches and schools, support of teachers and preachers, as well as for the mission, and gives it willingly. In the year 1907 it gave the sum of £4350. The Betschuana Christians of the Hermannsburg Mission, who are still suffering from the after-throes of the Boer war, subscribed £35 for the starving Christians in India. A delightful example of glad giving is reported in the Barmer Missionary Record from Otjimbingwe: to meet the deficit of the missionary society the mountain Damra, the Bastards and the Herero, at a recent mission festival, brought £150, of which only £35 came from the Europeans of the place, an astonishing performance for people who have not yet recovered from the consequences of the war.[1]

The love of testifying is very lively everywhere among heathen Christians, young and old. Themselves set free from the bonds of demon worship, they would like to have

mens; longing for Christ and the salvation that He brought expressed in constant prayer and hunger for the Divine Word; love for those who had found the narrow way; and love, trust, gratitude to us missionaries which often found touching expression;—these were the gifts of grace which God conferred on not a few of this awakened people."

[1] Barmer, Missionsbl., 1907, p. 67 f. Many churches in Sumatra have also contributed considerable gifts to meet the deficit.

all the enslaved set free. All who have known the true God, and experienced His love, cannot but testify of all they have seen and heard. But we have already spoken of this missionary instinct of heathen Christians.[1]

We also meet with the sense of kinship, the brotherly love of young Christians. Fellow believers soon learn to look on one another as brethren. According to heathen notions, nothing but the tie of blood can form a brotherly union; the new faith in the one God and Redeemer creates a fellowship which is more cordially and joyfully cultivated than those ties of kindred. Christians are one great family, because they know that they are all subjects of one kingdom, of which Jesus is Lord. Wherever Christians meet in Battakland they shake each other by the hand; they call one another dongan—companions, friends—a word which formerly designated members of the same tribe. They all know that they belong to one another. They rejoice in this fellowship, and like to contrast the condition of brotherly love with the heathen period of club law, when every man's hand was against every other. "Formerly we were enemies, but now we are brethren." This confession of a once notorious head-hunter on Nias correctly describes the new situation. Christians from the west and east of Nias like to visit each other and strengthen one another's faith. Some Christians of Nias set out even to make the acquaintance of their Christian brethren of Sumatra, and be refreshed by their fellowship. Battak Christians have also visited their co-religionists in Nias. Kruyt states that in the whole of Dutch East India the Christians fraternise with one another. All who call upon the same God are recognised as comrades;

[1] See pp. 272 ff. *Cf.* the missionary zeal of the Christians of Botschabelo (Merensky, *l.c.*, p. 312 f.). Buchner: "In many churches of South Africa are found more, in others fewer, but in all some who, of their own impulse, testify of their experience of salvation sometimes in their heathen and sometimes in their Christian surroundings." The same thing is found among the Karens Christians. It is said of their preachers: "Persecution does not discourage, punishment and imprisonment do not terrify them. The spread of the Gospel and the salvation of their people is their one thought day and night."

the inhabitants of the most diverse islands visit one another and shake hands. In the whole of Dutch East India Christians welcome each other.

Such characteristics show how the idea of the unity of the human race dawns quite naturally on the redeemed heathen Christians.[1] Separated formerly from other peoples by religion and custom, they regarded themselves, in their conceit, as the only men. Every tribe had its own story of creation. They were separated from the white men by an unbridgeable gulf. As Christians, they regard not only their fellow tribesmen and other fellow countrymen as brothers, but also all coloured men, and all Europeans. On this point they have absolute belief in the Bible; but it is Jesus rather than the record of creation who has convinced them that they are children of the one Father. Hence their national and social barriers need not be broken down. The native Christian is obedient to his chief, and shows due respect to the European. But prejudices are overcome, conceit on the one hand and slavish subjection on the other. The breaker of all bonds has thrown down this wall also.

All the better heathen Christians display the courage of glad confessors.[2] It is to them a necessity to testify to what they have found in the Saviour, and many of them are ready to suffer, and, if need be, to die for their testimony. Tropical people have a certain natural capacity for the yoke, and for enduring suffering, often due to lack of energy. This is ennobled by Christianity. The heathen Christian has gained a conviction, based upon experience, which is strong enough to endure considerable burdens, which is even strengthened by suffering for Jesus' sake. The sufferings endured by the young Christians of Madagascar for their

[1] Ellis, the missionary on Madagascar, found "that, in spite of all difference of climate, colour, language, and degree of culture, Christianity made men see that they all belonged to one family.

[2] "The earnestness and fearlessness with which the first Bapedi Christians were ready to confess their faith by deeds, and their fear of being contaminated with heathen conduct, made a deep impression on us. Such courage in confession under serious sufferings was given at a later period to this whole community."

faith are well known, as also those of the Waganda, and those of China during the Boxer rising.[1] In every mission field the first converts have much to suffer; they are driven from houses and villages; they lose their fields; they are slandered, persecuted, hated, shunned. The heathen Christian finds it easier to suffer quietly and die cheerfully than the average Christian in Christendom. He is helped to do so by his direct childlike relation to his God. Unconscious remains of old fatalism may also be at work in the matter.

The judgment of Buchner, who had a most accurate knowledge of South African missions, upon the moral condition of heathen Christian communities, is: "If we ask about their Christian patience, their quiet endurance of suffering, and their childlike trust in God in trouble, we are confronted with a very pleasing picture. I do not think I am saying too much when I assert that on this point our heathen Christians are far superior to our European Christians. Their patience in trouble, their glorying in tribulation, their maturity in the precious fruits of such submissions. . . . I have not once but many times had occasion to witness, and in a manner that is very rare in Christendom." "Visit the deathbed of our Christian and you will see—and often where you had not expected it—the man departing with glad confidence and childlike joy, and that among those who, as heathen, were in a very special sense in bondage through the fear of death, so that the heathen Christians often seem to be far in advance of us in the joy and delight of departing to be with Christ."

If we add their delight in prayer and their childlike trust in God, we have, in some measure, given a complete picture of the bright side of the heart renewal. Every moral excellence flows from the unique relation they have gained to God their Redeemer and loving Father. The

[1] It is reported of the Kols that they stood true in persecution, although many of them had been at first drawn to Christianity through social considerations.

moral transformation is produced by the same power. The more they are regenerated religiously, the more are they transformed morally: Lo, I make all things new. But even more important than particular outstanding virtues is the fact that there is formed a Christian public opinion, a national conscience. Where men formerly boasted of their infamous deeds, they are now ashamed of them, and the evildoer is compelled to secrecy. Christian law and custom take the place of caprice. "The power of public opinion on Minahassa is unspeakably great, and has a much greater influence than the exhortations of the missionary." The weak individual is borne up by public opinion, and a fixed standard is put into the hand of those who are morally wavering. As a national conscience it helps to form the personal conscience of the average Christian, and thus becomes an important factor in the training of the people.

In an essay on "the right estimate of the apostolic communities as presented in the New Testament," Kähler reaches results which are in essential agreement with the experience of missionaries in the mission fields of to-day. He extols the faith of the apostolic communities, their experience of the living God, their assurance of the new life, "possessions that are not quickly relinquished . . . however hard it may be to ascertain and carry out in the varied relations of public life their implications for conduct." He emphasises, further, their brotherly love which "recognises all believers as brethren," and the joyousness of their hope. The excellences of apostolic Christians lie in the religious, not the ethical region. The strong contrast to their former mode of life, after the manner of their fathers, was able to disturb their equilibrium and actually did so. "As the one great revolution had been effected in their fundamental relation to God and man, it was now necessary to restore the equilibrium with the view of assuming an attitude towards the things of the world and towards them that are without." "The familiar customs in the midst of which they live have the force of rooted habit;

consequently, they do not often ask themselves whether anything is right, because they fall back into the old ways without reflection and without hesitation. But, should they reflect, they are still a long way from any clear and sure estimate of an ancestral custom. For these customs not infrequently are involved in the very structure of society." In our endeavour rightly to appreciate the very conspicuous defects of heathen Christians, their manifold contentions, their sensuality, their love of gain, we must put ourselves to school, to Paul, strict censor of spiritual things, and learn to estimate the Divine influences, not from the shortcomings in the way of perfection, but from the change between what was and what is, interpreted in the light of the motives. We can apply such a test pretty fully to most of the mission fields of to-day. The results of Kähler's inquiries are virtually the same as the missionaries' experiences. They justify us in finding in the apostolic experience a confirmation of the reality of like events in the religious life of modern converts from heathenism, and of the moral renewal which their new religious life produces in them, although that moral renewal does not always keep step with the religious progress. The whole story is to be interpreted by those laws which regulate the dependence of moral enlightenment on religious life; those powers which everywhere and always must feed the life-giving root, then fashion the young shoot, and, last of all, bring to maturity the flowers and the fruits.

The peculiar excellences of heathen Christians are opposed by peculiar moral defects; these are difficult to remove, because deeply rooted in the national character. As in the apostolic communities, we find the young heathen Christians of most mission fields very heavily burdened with sins of the flesh. Missionaries often lament their inability to awaken a right feeling in this matter. The physician of souls should see in these sins a burden of heredity.

Lying cannot be at once abolished among people over whom it has had such a mighty sway. Most mission

churches have to contend with much mendacity, dishonesty, fraud, and insincerity on the part of their members. There is also much litigiousness, quarrelsomeness, pride, intriguing for leadership or government employment, and national vices, very difficult to overcome. Any one among them who, for God's sake, forgives an enemy, or gives up a law suit, evinces a humility which testifies to a very thorough heart renewal. Lack of energy is a quality not easily dispelled by the Gospel. Even the Indonesian heathen Christians, men rejoicing in their reconciliation with God, remain without initiative waiting on nature; that, perhaps, will change very slowly. Among the defects of heathen Christians of the Indian Archipelago is a certain instability of character, which makes them prone to slacken in their moral efforts, and makes their moral life necessarily uneven. Frequently, we have to lament the want of active love, practical compassion, and heart-felt sympathy among heathen Christians; also earthly-mindedness, a too great eagerness for full barns, as well as for spiritual blessings from the Gospel. All these defects will be easily understood by one who judges rightly. The experiences of foreign missions warn us not to idealise the moral state of the apostolic communities.

It cannot but surprise us, however, to find that relapses into heathenism, more or less gross, are not rare. We come upon them chiefly among those Christians who simply followed the lead of their companions, expecting mainly from Christianity an improvement in the outward condition of their life, and who suffered a great disappointment. But it happens not only among the hangers on, the annoyances of every growing mission. Mostly, the relapse is due to fine threads binding still subtly and unconsciously the heathen Christian to the heathen world of thought. The animistic view of the world underlying heathenism, remember, is not removed from their heart by turning away from idols. The animistic doctrine of souls cannot be at once relegated to a museum of antiquities; it is living still, and seeks to enter into union with Christian thought. The young Christian

wishes to break wholly with the animistic view of the world; but, in practice, his thought and his feeling are still easily influenced by the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. A man's name is even to the Christian no mere word; they do not willingly utter the names of relatives. Christian mothers still like to give their child a "soul garment," never considering what they are doing; Christians involuntarily avoid pronouncing the name of a sick person. Many Christian fathers allow their hair to grow while expecting an addition to their families, etc.[1] Belief in the power of hostile enchantments is still general.[2] Such contraband of thought, smuggled from the enemy's camp, must be vigorously opposed, but it should not be too severely judged.[3]

Among those who have broken with spirit worship are many, who, unconsciously, observe those superstitious usages without discerning their connection with heathen religion. Thousands of actions and prohibitions, of whose origin and aim no one can give any account, have been stamped by long custom as laws of conduct or rules of decorum for daily life. Whenever the missionary enlightens them as to the

[1] Schreiber gives a number of such usages, based on Animism, from among the older and younger Christians of the Indian Archipelago. "Die inlandischen Christengemeinden des Indischen Archipel., A.M.Z., 1883, p. 260 f.

[2] A unique proof of how animistic sorcery makes itself at home in Christianity is found among the Bush negroes. If any one is robbed, and does not know the thief, he brings candles into the Catholic Church, and firmly believes that the thief will lose his life as the candles are being gradually burned (Missionsbl. der Brudergemeinde, 1907, p. 179).

[3] The essay of a Battak teacher, which recently appeared in their monthly record, was to me a pleasing sign of how the Battak Christians recognise and resist the danger of Animism. The author points to "a worm in Christendom," meaning, thereby, the notion of the soul, which is still prevalent among Christians. Many continue to believe that souls are magically influenced for good or evil. A child thrives if the soul of the mother guards it; the woman owes it to her own soul that she is pregnant; happiness and unhappiness come from the soul; it is frequently supposed that the soul has chosen its lot; fatalism still rules thought far too much. The seeking for a lucky name and such like is also denounced. One sees how the Animist finds it very difficult to change his way of thinking, even though he has the will to do so. The struggle of Christians against these notions is a plainer proof of the power of the Gospel than the conquering of particular sins.

dangerous connection of the superstitious usages,[1] they are mostly quite ready to give them up; they are also ready to take part in tracking out the little enemies and instructing their brethren about them. Sincere Christians are really earnest in their efforts to purge out the old leaven. In conferences of Battak teachers and preachers we have asked, and obtained, reports concerning these remains of heathen superstition still found in the Christian communities. We discovered many more of them than we, or our helpers, imagined, but we also succeeded in opening the eyes of the better Christians to them; and now, in all our communities, the enemy is hunted from his hiding-place, and vigorously suppressed. We may reckon it among the most genuine conquests of the Gospel, that it not only overthrows idols, shatters magic implements, removes the abomination of idolatry, but that with long patient labour it succeeds in exposing and pulling up the roots of superstition, even to their minutest suckers, and that heathen Christians are eager and unwearied in this toil.

We must also bear in mind that Christians are in danger of forming magical notions of the Christian religion similar to their old notions of their own heathen religion. That sometimes finds expression in the celebration of baptism and the Lord's Supper.[2] Animists are very apt to connect

[1] That is not always such a simple matter. Is tatooing, *e.g.*, to be forbidden as heathenish? We have no right to forbid it, save where it has a heathen basis. It is the same with teeth filing, with certain presents, marriage usages, festivals for the dead, etc. Opinions differ much in these and such like questions. One declares that such customs are harmless, and their suppression a brutal abuse of missionary authority; another sees in them bonds of heathenism, which, in all circumstances, must be severed. Many such usages also, though animistic in their origin, have lost all heathen significance. Such, for example, are bodily ornaments, which were, in all likelihood, originally amulets (*cf.* Wundt, *l.c.*, p. 56). There is no longer any need to fight against such things as these.

[2] Among the Christians of Dutch East India, in the days of the East India Company, it appeared that any one who could not himself be present at the Lord's Supper sent his slaves as substitutes; that the Ambonesian Christians did not eat the bread at the Supper, but took it home and used it afterwards as a kind of charm. A black pastor on the Gold Coast observed that the communicants retained the communion cards in order

the partaking of Christ's body and blood with the old notion of appropriating the soul-stuff of another by eating it. The fear of coming to the Lord's Table which we find in most heathen Christian communities is not always the outcome of pious reverence. Many heathen Christians ascribe magical powers to the New Testament. These are all children's ailments belonging to the period of growth, and if taken at the right time, and treated rightly, can be got over. No foreign missionary will palliate or explain away these defects, but he will remember that defects adhere to all Christians, even to those far in advance of those tyros who have hardly yet made their own the A B C of redemption. He will also discover to his comfort, though not to the excusing of his heathen Christians, that even in the apostolic communities subtle and gross sins of a similar kind not only appeared, but were often hardly felt or denounced as sins by the community. Above all, he will remind himself that religious renewal always precedes moral renewal, and keeps in advance of it. Utschimura exhorts missionaries who go to Japan: "When you come to us, come with a healthy, human understanding, and sober views. Do not imagine that a people can be converted in a day. You will find things as sober and prosaic among us as elsewhere; even among us men doubt, dissemble, and stumble."[1]

The real falling away from Christianity is a return to spirit worship, and it must be very differently assessed. Conscious apostasy is rare in heathen Christian communities, most rare in the case of those who were personally convinced Christians. When it does take place it is generally the penalty, the natural and inevitable consequence, of having failed to maintain the gift already received. Yet even here we must beware of judging too

to put them into the hands of the dying, as a kind of pass into heaven, and that in like manner the baptismal water was not emptied out in any one's presence. Again and again, writes Missionary Giess, one must call upon the Chinese at the Lord's Supper, eat, eat, because they want to conceal the bread in their sleeve and use it for superstitious purposes.

[1] Utschimura, *l.c.*, p. 122.

severely. We must not forget the fearful power of the enticement. When a drunkard has abjured his vice his companions take a fiendish joy in seeking to entice him back, and although almost saved, although conscious of new powers, he may yet succumb to their infernal urgings. The heathen entice, and urge with threats, their companions to come back to them.[1]

In particular their relatives do all in their power to seduce those who have departed from the ways of their fathers. Imagine the situation of a widow who belongs to the family of her dead husband, because she became a wife by purchase. How hard must it not be for her to remain true to her faith when the whole of her relations, from whom she cannot get free, are heathen, and wish to force on her a heathen husband! But any one who proves weak, and is prevailed upon to take part again in a heathen sacrifice, or in sorceries, verifies the words of Jesus about the house swept and garnished, and the evil spirit who returned; the last state of that man is worse than the first. If formerly he was a thoughtless idolater, he is now for the most part a conscious enemy of Christianity. Such a deserter has far greater difficulty in returning to salvation, and the more conscious the fall the more difficult is the return. The power of the evangelic gift is seen here; like every great gift, it must not be trifled with. With pitiless certainty it becomes a power unto death to those who have once tasted of its blessings and then rejects them. The early Church was right in maintaining that apostasy from the living God, after a saving knowledge

[1] "The African heathen who would become a Christian has to wage a fearful battle. At every step heathenism holds him with bands that seem as if they could not be broken. He has to take part in the usages of sorcery, even though he has ceased to believe in them, for the king has commanded it. His own kindred shun him as unclean. His companions use filthy, obscene language, and sometimes ridicule what he deems sacred. His own parents perhaps curse him because he has brought them into disgrace and danger, and if he is fortunate enough to have a Christian wife, man and wife must look forward with terror to the time when the heathen will claim their children, and drag them to dissolute Coma-argien" (Merensky, *l.c.*, p. 152).

of Him, was the one sin that could not be forgiven. Rarely does such a man seek Divine forgiveness. Even the heathen feel the gravity of such guilt, and are afraid of it.

To proclaim to the heathen the living God and Redeemer; to wait in patience till experience makes Him known; then to wait again till the moral germs there sown within the heart spring up, and finally to foster carefully the tender growing plants—that is the method blessed by God in the mission work of the early Church, and blessed by Him in the foreign mission work of to-day. First the gift, then duty; first the seed, then fruit; first the religious power, then moral application of the power; first God the Saviour, then the Divine example. Morals rise to the call of the religious life. From the constancy of these facts we may deduce the law that true moral life springs only from the religious life. A right relation to God always issues in right moral conduct. Jesus Himself has formulated this natural law in the spiritual world: he that abideth in Me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit, for without Me ye can do nothing.

The Gospel has carried faith and love into the cold, torpid heathen world; crowning all, it offers the gift of hope in a life of future blessedness. The animistic heathen finds in earthly things the highest blessings. If he is religious he has the same interest in this world; he expects his religion to give him the blessings of this life.[1] When the heathen hears Christianity extolled as the true religion, he asks, Can you guarantee that we shall not die if we become Christians?[2] The Papuans said to Van Hasselt that they would only become Christians if the missionaries could pray so as to raise the dead. Hence the ever-recurring question of the

[1] See pp. 130-132.

[2] An old man in Tomasa said to Kruyt: "If you cannot promise us a longer life on earth, it is manifest that Christianity and heathenism are alike." On the death of some Christians in Dutch New Guinea the heathen said: "What a stupid thing it is to become a Christian; Christians die like ourselves." Similar sayings may be often heard in Sumatra.

heathen to the missionaries: What will you give us if we become Christians, or if we send our children to school? The people of Nias asked the missionary Thomas: What advantage shall we gain in leaving our work and going to church? The public school was not popular at first on Nias because "it did not make the swine fatter." The heathen thinks of the other world with horror—as a land of shadows. The present life alone is valuable. The utter hopelessness of heathenism is shown in the face of death and in their sorrow for the departed. If you speak to a Battak heathen about dying he cries out in terror: Palias, that be far from me! However miserable and wretched the life of the poorest may be, it is always much too precious to be exchanged for existence in the kingdom of the dead.

What a different world is disclosed to these hopeless heathen by the message of the Gospel! Beyond death an eternal life richer than the present; Jesus, the Son of God, the first fruits from the dead, now enthroned in heaven, whence He will come again to give perfect life and blessedness to all who have believed in Him. Between the animistic conception of the other world and this there is no spanning bridge. We need not wonder then that the heathen do not at first believe this part of the Gospel message, and that they oppose to it an uncomprehending blank.[1] The young missionary not yet thoroughly acquainted with the desire of heathenism for a present salvation here and now, thinks perhaps that the message of the resurrection and eternal life cannot fail to lighten up the cheerless heathen gloom. But

[1] Missionaries constantly see that the message of a future life calls forth wonder and attention. The preaching of eternal life, the coming again of Jesus, and the final judgment, made an impression on the Papuans of Kaiser-Williamsland. It is said that this message, joined to an appeal to their conscience, found a way to their hard hearts. The message about the home of the soul where we shall meet again, and about the heavenly village, had a strong attraction for the otherwise insusceptible; also the preaching of Christ's second coming, when all men shall come forth from their graves, and the message of the final judgment. But notwithstanding the occasional impression, it was not successful in leading the heathen Papuans to the Gospel. They continued to reject it.

in most cases that is not so.[1] In an essay on this subject a Battak catechist says: "The message about eternal life has a difficulty in getting into a heathen heart. They say, that is very beautiful, but no one can know whether it is true. When they hear of the final judgment they are terrified for the moment, but the fear soon passes away. They are people with short thoughts and cannot see far." The hearers shake their heads, incredulous as the Athenian philosophers when Paul spoke to them about the resurrection. This is perhaps to the heathen the strangest part of the Gospel message, for it turns upside down his animistic world of thought.[2]

The acceptance and estimation of this Gospel gift demands preparation which is furnished by their experience of the living God. The heathen Christian learns that with Him nothing is impossible; he gains confidence in Him and tastes His love in Jesus Christ. The assurance that even death cannot destroy this communion has then a pleasing sound to him. He knows from Bible history that Jesus is Lord over death; in the life of prayer and of faith he daily learns that though He was dead He is now alive and nigh to him. If he has personal communion with Jesus, and desires to follow on to know the Lord, the words about eternal life no longer

[1] "I shall never forget the feeling of dismay that came to me once after speaking with fervour on the raising of Lazarus. The story was listened to with reverent attention, but at the close of the meeting an old lady of rank said: 'So that is how things happen among you that the dead become alive. That does not happen among us,' and immediately passed on to speak of things of daily life" (Kruyt, "Inlander," p. 88). A Battak heathen chief said to Reitze the missionary, "All that you say is good and beautiful, but I cannot believe what you have said about the resurrection from the dead."

[2] That shows that the animistic view of the world is more deeply rooted in the heart of the heathen than belief in the gods. The latter is overthrown without difficulty by the proclamation of the new faith; but the message of the resurrection is believed with the greatest difficulty, because it assails the animistic view of the world. The announcement of eternal life is the only point in the Gospel message which the heathen meets with doubt. "The idea of a reawakening of the body already reduced to dust, an idea that is mystical in its inmost nature, because perceptible to the reason only in the form of a sudden new creation, is entirely alien to primitive thought" (Wundt, *l.c.*, p. 64).

appear strange to him; on the contrary, they become a postulate of faith. It is only Jesus who enables the heathen to appropriate the promise of eternal life. Their notions of the life after death are inverted only because they have come to know God and His love in Jesus, because they are in close communion with Him, and believe in His death and resurrection.[1] Only those heathen Christians who have experienced Jesus as Saviour are convinced of the eternal life. The tyro Christians make little of the gift of future life which is surpassed in their estimation by the gifts of the present, their deliverance, the omnipotence and goodness of the Great God.

Hence we can easily understand that the article of the resurrection of the dead is still strange to many Battak Christians. We missionaries have been grieved to see that many of the baptised cannot really believe that man's body is to come forth from the grave at God's command and receive a glorified life.[2] Any one who knows the members of his community will observe that the doubters are those who have not yet laid hold of Jesus as the Saviour. The vision of heaven can only be seen from the holiest of all. No man can see heaven opened unless he knows the Son of Man at the right hand of God. So long as the heathen Christian has little or no fellowship with Jesus, he is hampered by the animistic world of thought, even though he has broken with idolatry and spirit worship. Animists believe that man's soul returns at death to the all-soul; it is a matter or power of this present world. What of man continues to exist after death is the ghostlike shadow of his personality. As long as the native clings to these ideas he is unable to conceive how the "soul" of man is to obtain a new body in a more perfect state of existence. The shadow of the dead in the other world cannot receive a body. The Animist laughs at any one

[1] Paul argues thus against the doubters in the church at Corinth. Believing, as they do, in the bodily resurrection of Jesus, they must change their notions about the life of believers after death.

[2] The naïvete with which they avow this doubt justifies the inference that they really believe all other articles of faith which they do not expressly question. They would otherwise avow their suspicions.

who seeks to correct him on this subject.[1] But if the heathen has had experience of God's love in Christ—it must needs be an experience—he will know instinctively that the truth about man's soul is different from what he formerly believed; that the soul is an object of Divine love, something personal, precious, immortal; that it will live for ever, and can be reclothed with a new and better body because it has entered into union with God. Those who have turned from idols to God are now so intimately united with Him that they wait for the coming of His son from heaven, who will complete their fellowship with Him (1 Thess. i. 9 f.). The hope of eternal life opens up to the young Christian so far as he has Christ. The more intimate the relation to Christ the more vivid is the hope. Where Christ has not become the way and the truth, He is not the life. He is the resurrection and the life; whosoever believeth in Him has the world of eternal life opened up to him.

The experience of all missionaries shows that the hope of eternal life has become a power in the heathen world. Its genuineness is tested in cases of sickness and at death-beds. When the relatives of Battak Christians die, we no longer hear the wild wailing music and lamentations in which the heathen give expression to a sorrow that has no hope. The mourning usages, originating in fear of the dead, cease to be observed, so far, at least, as they are felt to be heathen. All who believe in an eternal life quietly and calmly mourn their dead.[2] The sincerity of the Christian hope is most severely tested by the death of a son, above all, an only son, of a Christian on the Indian Archipelago. Such an experience has led many a heathen mother to hang herself in

[1] It is unfortunate that the Christian Battak terminology has adopted the word "tondi" for soul, the animistic word for soul-stuff. This word makes it very difficult for him to appropriate the Christian belief in the resurrection.

[2] Missionaries have often to take action against heathenish bad habits in cases of death. But it is among those members of the community who have little knowledge of Jesus. Among all better Christians the heathen mourning customs are spontaneously transformed into the Christian customs, which are pervaded by the spirit of hope. Merensky commends the manner of mourning among the Basuto Christians.

despair. Most heathen Christians bear the blow with resignation, comforting one another, and saying of the dead child: He has gone before us. Very often, though not always, the Christian mother gains sufficient self-control to come to church the Sunday after the burial of her child, though, as the women say, her grief is renewed by seeing the many mothers who have their darlings still with them.

Lett gives some touching examples of the way in which recently baptised heathen Christian parents of Nias comforted one another at the death of their darlings. If their grief was too great they came to the mission station for comfort. They took away with them the well-known picture of Kaulbach, entitled "To God." Comforted, they brought it back, saying: "The heathen can now say nothing, for they saw on the picture how our dead children are borne upwards by angels." When there died the eldest son of Fetero, already mentioned, he could say: "I am thankful that my son is at home with the Lord. When a heathen, I would have regarded the death of my firstborn son as the greatest misfortune; now, however, his cheerful end has strengthened all our faith." A Niasser mother, after the death of her child, answered the missionary: "Why should I sorrow? He has gone to heaven." A Battak mother could say: "My son is with the Lord, removed from all sin and temptation; I do not wish him back." No one who knows the despairing grief and disconsolateness of heathen parents will be able to explain such utterances otherwise than by a miracle of Divine power.

This living hope brightens the death-bed of many heathen Christians. There is shown then, and not merely in exceptional cases, a cheerfulness that must appear to the heathen a kind of madness. We have come upon many edifying examples of the vividness of the eternal hope at the death-beds of young and old Christians in Sumatra. A Battak seminarist was languishing in consumption, doomed to a death of great suffering. Without envying his healthy comrades, nay, with joy, he followed the call of his Lord who came to take him. When a Mohammedan visitor wished

health and long life to a dying Battak woman, she said: "I no longer desire that. My wish is now to go home to my Lord in heaven. Death has no terrors for me." Amazed, the Mohammedan replied: "That is a language I do not know. We are anxious and afraid of death." A Niasser Christian woman on her death-bed said: "Why should I be afraid? Jesus has forgiven my sins; now I must go home." Such blessed home-goings of heathen Christians appear too frequently in all missionary reports to be reckoned exceptional. The intimacy of the relation to Jesus the Redeemer and Lord, whose property they feel themselves to be, is the guarantee to the dying of their salvation. And the certainty of being united with Him changes the fear of death into a glorified joy.[1] The stupefied resignation with which the heathen departs has vanished in the case of many Christians. Death has lost its sting; it has become to them the entrance into life. In many cases the dying feel constrained to confess their sins in order to remove everything that stands between them and their Saviour.

Not every Christian dies so cheerfully and peacefully. But those who do are always people who had found in Jesus the Saviour, and had an intimate relation to Him. The more lively the communion with Christ and the apprehension of His love, the more peaceful and blessed the dying. The dying hour tests the intimacy of their relation to Jesus. He who has Jesus has overcome death.

The dying are often said to see angels coming to take them. A Battak teacher exclaimed in his death struggle, "Behold two angels have come to take me." When the heathen aunts of a dying Niasser youth began to lament, he said, "Why do you keep me from going to the Lord with your howling? The angels had already come, and would have borne me hence, and it was so beautiful up there: keep quiet that I may go home."[2] The homegoing often

[1] During the persecution of the Christians in Madagascar, the murderers repeatedly declared: "There is a magic in the religion of the white people that takes away the fear of death."

[2] Merensky reports from Botschabelo: "It was remarkable that many before their end saw visions and heard voices; they mostly saw white forms, which they often described as our own who have come to call us."

think they see Jesus Himself coming to take them home. In Mayera (Gold Coast) the chief, Salomo, lay dying. After touchingly exhorting all present, he exclaimed, "My Lord Jesus, with many departed brethren, comes to take me home." To the question whether he saw them he replied, "Do you not see them, do you not hear their song? The Saviour is present with companions before and behind Him; they have taken me into their midst, and will lead me into the heavenly city." A dying Chinese woman, eighteen years of age, looked upwards, and cried with a loud voice, "Jesus is coming, Jesus has come." A Papuan Christian woman exclaimed when dying, "Jesus calls me, I come." The liveliness of their experience of God, and the believing, child-like intercourse with the Saviour which they cultivate, are the presuppositions of such experiences in the hour of death, the reality of which we have no reason to doubt. The hour of death frequently reveals to us missionaries that there was more genuine faith in a heathen Christian than we had supposed.

The hope of the world to come is not so prominent in their lives as in the life of the early Church. As far as my observation goes, the judgment of the world, the end of the world, and eternal life, have less influence on the lives of the newly converted than the other motives I have mentioned. The judicial function of Jesus at the end of the world is perhaps that on which the religious feeling of animistic heathen Christians reacts least. But I cannot say whether the same thing is true everywhere among uncivilised peoples. The heathen Christian never doubts the eschatological statements of the evangelic message, but these do not enter into his consciousness with the same vividness, and do not have such fruitful results as the gifts of redemption, of communion with God, and the love of God which he has actually received and gratefully enjoys.[1]

It is only natural that the poor, the sick, and the heavy laden should grasp most intensely the thought of heaven, and that this side of the proclamation should have special attraction for them. In the Battak leper colony many visitors

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 276.

have been surprised at beholding the joyousness of these heavily afflicted cripples. What makes them so cheerful in their misery? They themselves say: The message that God has called even them, the outcasts, to His heaven, and that they will there receive a clean, healthy body.[1] As heathen they believed that lepers would be lepers and pariahs in the other world just as here. Now, begotten to the Christian hope, these lepers die cheerfully. No power in this world could have snatched them from their stupid fatalism: Jesus has done it by His unspeakable gift. The poor, the suffering, widows and slaves, grasp joyfully the hope of a life where God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. That hope gives them strength to bear their cross patiently.[2] How could the martyrs of Madagascar, China, Uganda, South Africa have been ready to endure a painful death for their Lord if there had not been in them the living power of a hope of reunion with Him? What forces must be at work in a heathen heart to change its fatalistic resignation to death into the triumphant gladness of a witness unto blood! The power of Jesus revealing itself in the Gospel has succeeded in transforming earthly-minded heathen into men whose citizenship is in heaven where they know Jesus Christ to be their deliverer and the finisher of their salvation.

Rich and manifold is the gift of the Gospel to the heathen; it offers them assured knowledge of the supernatural; it vouches for the truth as God's free gift; it puts them in personal communion with the living God; it delivers them from the hard bondage in which they were held captive by the non-gods and from tormenting fear in every form; it pours over them the warm sunshine of God's love; it anoints their blinded eyes and makes them see the primal cause of

[1] The same results appeared in some lepers of New Bethel, South Africa, who with great joy received the message of the hope of a better life in the other world. Nottrott has a similar report of lepers who were cared for by the Kols Mission.

[2] Many of the sick, like that sick man on Nias, were fond of hearing about the future life. He often asked the missionary: Tell me something about the eternal life.

their misery in sin side by side with the divinely effected reconciliation; it equips them with powers for a holy walk with God; it gladdens and strengthens their hearts by the blessed hope of an eternal perfect life with God. The heathen are won by "the good message" as a gift, not as a demand, not as instruction. Ironical superiority and the tone of definite command are equally foreign to it; it allures and invites the weary with soothing words and promises to give them rest for their souls.

The great gift of God, unfolding itself so variously, is adapted to the needs of animistic heathenism. That heathenism hungers for certainty, and an authoritative self-communication from God; it gropes after the one God to whom power appertains; it sighs for deliverance from the bitter service of the transient; it is painfully destitute of love, for it breathes an atmosphere of fear; it is perishing in the mire of its immorality and barbarity; it is filled with terror in presence of the grave and the other world. All heathen have not, of course, a clear perception of these needs. We can only speak of a latent longing. But any one laying his ear to the heart of heathenism may trace the low pulsation of the longing for deliverance. A man may carry about with him a consuming disease without knowing its name, nay, without knowing how ill he is; only, in moments of self-reflection, he suspects that there is something wrong with him he cannot define. Apparently contented and satisfied with their religion, the animistic heathen are sick unto death; for they have missed their destiny. They cannot say that it is God they need; at first they will hardly admit it. Custom, materialism, laziness, have covered the tender, sensitive organ of the soul with a callous coating of horn. The magnetic needle is rusted, the glass of conscience dulled by mire and dust. But the clear light of the Gospel falls on them, and the defects are seen one by one. The light grows clearer; the outlines of the hidden things stand out more sharply defined.

The Gospel names the deadly disease of heathenism with clear, pitiless truthfulness; it tears away from the heathen

the veil of self-deception; it says to them tenderly, but decidedly: You are walking in error under the curse of lies; you are far from God, slaves of the devil, loveless, unclean, hopeless. This clear assured diagnosis saddens the sick man, but without it the gift cannot be appreciated or the Deliverer laid hold of. Over against the defects, of which they have now become conscious, the Gospel places the corresponding gift, and asks: Wilt thou be made whole? And there are plenty of heathen who are not willing to be made whole. These the Gospel cannot help. Often the sense of defect is awakened by the offer of the gift. The right medicine may cure before the patient has heard the name of his disease, if only he willingly accepts the wholesome draught.

The offer and acceptance of the evangelic gift need not follow strictly the order I have set forth. One facet or another of the jewel may flash before their eyes with attracting splendour, according to their tribal excellences or defects, according to the personal experiences and needs of the individual. What makes itself painfully felt as a defect will first cry out for healing and satisfaction. It is of little consequence whether is first experienced the power of God contrasted with the impotence of idols, or fear of the spirits drawing the enslaved to the Deliverer, God's love driving the selfish heathen to his knees, the hope of a perfect life, or the longing for moral purity. The entrance to the fortress will be from the weakest side; the missionary must seek for that.

The animistic heathen is a member of a flock; any gift of the Gospel will help to quicken within him personal thought and will; and from that side the Gospel will conquer him. But every man's way to God is unique; in the spiritual life there are no moulds. Still there are types. We have attempted to describe the typical conversion of the Animist. Individuals come to God by a narrow footpath, steep and toilsome. The inward change is always very complicated whenever a heathen turns from his gods and gains a personal knowledge of the true God. The object of our inquiry was to analyse and describe as far as possible the conditions of

this great experience, and the factors, human and Divine, natural and supernatural, that were operative in it.

A ray of light passing through a prism is diffracted into a band of many colours. The physicist can note how the one white ray is broken up into many particular rays, each of which has a special form and special qualities. Our inquiry is like this spectrum analysis. We have set under the magnifying glass the ray of Divine power shining amid the darkness of heathenism, and have noted its manifold variegated diffractions gleaming like a band of colours in a dark chamber. The physicist can gather together again these scattered points of colour, and, passing them through his prism, form them into the one white ray. Our inquiry has clearly revealed what is this one dazzling ray, central force of all the scattered gifts and powers of the Gospel—Jesus Christ, the God-man. In Him we see the animating light of the spiritual world, the sun of its planetary system. All Divine life in human hearts comes from Him as all terrestrial life comes from the sun. Every spiritual power is a radiation from Him.

The human eye does not perceive every colour of the sun spectrum; it cannot see the ultra-violet or ultra-red rays. So we perceive but a limited number of the expressions of the Divine power; many are still hidden from our eye. All that we can perceive are but fragments, but these are quickening radiations of the Divine light, and actual proofs of its vigorous reality.

When the ray of light passes through gaseous bodies, certain characteristic obscurations are shown in the colour band of the spectrum. When the Divine light passes through human hearts, there are dark stains on the spectrum; the power of God never appears to us in its purity, the light is always troubled by earthly mixtures. Hence every picture of human conversion exhibits disfiguring spots, obscurations of the light, more or less deep, which have their origin in the human heart. The inquiry has set them in relief.

Jesus Christ is the Divine light which warms and animates the world. Our inquiry, supported in this by the unanimous

experience of evangelic missions, has shown that Jesus becomes in constant growing measure the light of the heathen; that their transformation is accomplished in Him and through Him. The mind of Jesus is the measure of their new creation. At the first contact of the heathen with the Gospel, His person seems to have little influence; yet it is at work there behind the curtain. The heathen receives the self-attesting revelation of God; it is only a preparation for Jesus. When he experiences further the power of the personal living God through the Bible history and his own experience of God's omnipotence, he experiences it more or less consciously through Jesus who has come into humanity. The picture of God which the heathen gains through Jesus becomes ever clearer and more intelligible to him. Jesus, because He is God and man, can become to him the impersonation of God. Jesus is the Mediator between God and man, the bridge between the supernatural and natural; in Him the invisible becomes corporeal. Jesus is to the heathen also the Deliverer, who with a strong hand has set them free from Satan's service, from fear and fate. Visibly to all He is fighting victoriously in the interests of all the great conflict in man's life between good and evil, that conflict in which the man estranged from God is ever defeated. But Jesus becomes greatest to the heathen Christian when He is seen to be the love of God. Without the God-man the heathen world would never comprehend the Gospel of love. The Crucified vanquishes hearts unaccustomed to love with a power which shines with special clearness in the darkness of the heathen world. Jesus only, who gave Himself, the Just for the unjust, awakens in the self-righteous hearts of the heathen the humbling consciousness of guilt towards God. Godless humanity perceives its sin in Him who knew no sin, but was made sin for sinners. Sin, in being visited upon the Holy One, is unveiled in its hateful nakedness and hostility to God. Only the death of Jesus can effect this miracle. In the same way it is Jesus only who brings about the moral transformation of the heathen Christian. The disciple of Jesus enters with a growing earnestness into the moral

conflict because of the relation to his Saviour he has gained. His fellowship with Jesus is the strength of all his moral conduct. Only he who has found Jesus and who abideth in Him brings forth fruit. He who has Jesus the Saviour can, in His strength and for His sake, forgive, love, give, speak the truth, be honest, chaste, humble, patient, kind. Finally, in the Risen Jesus is rooted the hope of an eternal life, *i.e.* a form of existence where the believer is united with the Saviour whom he loves, and enjoys unbroken fellowship with Him.

So far as the heathen Christian has Jesus he has the gold of genuine spiritual life. All else is Talmi (gilded brass). He has communion with God so far as he has apprehended Jesus. He is warmed by the love of God so far as it has been revealed to him by Jesus. His knowledge of sin depends on the measure of his experience of Jesus' love. He fights against sin with the zeal which is kindled by Jesus, and cools or glows according to his relation to Him. He strives to do good so far as he is impelled and strengthened by communion with Jesus. His worldliness is overcome by the hope of an eternal life, in proportion as the intimacy of his relation to Jesus makes him partly experience and partly long for union with Him. There is no heathen Christian walking in the truth whose moral and religious strength is not Jesus, who has not found the highest good in communion with his Saviour. Wherever a heathen Christian surprises us by his delight in prayer, his childlike faith, his sincere love to the Saviour and to his fellow men, his steadfastness in suffering, his courage in confessing, his zeal in testifying, his readiness for sacrifice, the earnestness of his Christian walk, the joyfulness of his departure from this world, we find that these are expressions of his life of fellowship with Jesus. Jesus has become so central that He inspires not only gratitude but adoration and Divine worship.

Single powers may be got from Jesus. The evening red is lovely, though it only brings out one of the coloured rays of the spectrum. They who touch the hem of the Saviour's garment acquire some virtue from the touch. The heathen

who prize Jesus only as the conqueror of demons are in reality set free by Him.

Whatever any one receives from Jesus, however small it be, and though it lie only on the outer crust of life, is still real and full of power. None of us has more than certain rays of the Light of the world. The disciples took little from Jesus at first, but that little was living power: it worked in them mightily. The gray of morning deepening into orange leads to the sun's white splendour, with all its beauty and power. Once within the sphere of Jesus' power, heathen Christians, if only their wills consent, are led from glory to glory.[1] If only it is power from Jesus they take, and not some worthless substitute, they will steadily grow in the inner man. The gift may come to them in earthen vessels: it may be received into earthen vessels; but it is not the vessels which condition the life of the new man; it is the content, the power of God therein. Without this power the messenger of the Gospel would soon lose all joy in mission work. But to be the bearer of living Divine forces is the missionaries' honour and strength and joy.

The evangelists when they testify of Jesus use very significant words: "There went power out of Him and healed them all." Out of Him goes the power that attracts, melts, and fashions anew the hearts of the heathen, wakening in them life and love and hope. Never man has wrought as this man. He is the power of God entering into humanity. Hundreds of thousands of heathen Christians who have passed from death to life bow their knees to Him, and joyfully declare: "Neither is there salvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we may be saved than the name of Jesus Christ."

[1] Utschimura says of himself: "After I had laid hold upon the Son of God my inner life was a movement upwards and downwards, but more upwards than downwards" (p. 89).

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